



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



62

5776

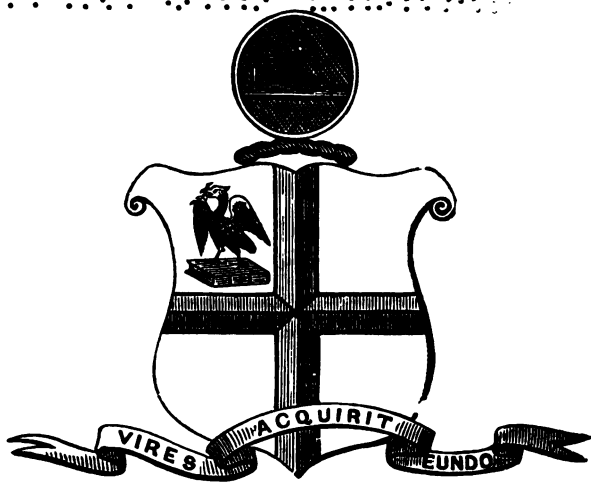


LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
OF
LIVERPOOL,
DURING THE
EIGHTY-SECOND SESSION, 1892-93.

No. XLVII.

STANFORD LIBRARY



LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
LIVERPOOL:
D. MARPLES & CO., LORD STREET.
1893.

VOLUME 10

The Authors have revised their Papers.

The Authors alone are responsible for facts and opinions.

The Society exchanges Proceedings with other publishing bodies, through the Librarian, from whom back numbers may be obtained.

271424

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
COUNCIL	iv
LIST OF ORDINARY MEMBERS	v
DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY	xiv
BALANCE SHEET.....	xix
MEETINGS	xxi

PAPERS PRINTED.

Principal RENDALL, M.A.—“The Genius of Greece” ...	1
Rev. F. BONTE.—“Reform and Restoration of Offenders”	33
Professor FRANCIS GOTCH, M.A., F.R.S.—“The Appreciation of Musical Sounds”	57
Mr. J. BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D. Lond.—“Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period—(Henry VII to Elizabeth)”	83
Mr. JOSIAH MARPLES.—“A French Nobleman of the times of the Revolution: a sketch of the life and adventures of Claude Henri Étienne Bernard, Marquis de Sassenay”	167

SESSION LXXXII, 1892-93.

President :

Principal RENDALL, M.A.

Ex-Presidents :

Rev. JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D.	EDWARD DAVIES, F.C.S., F.I.C.
Rev. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A.	RICHARD STEEL.
WILLIAM IHNE, Ph.D.	WILLIAM CARTER, LL.B., M.D., B.Sc., Univ. Lond., F.R.C.P., Lond.
Rev. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.	JAMES BIRCHALL.
JOHN BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D., Lond.	B. L. BENAS, J.P.
ALBERT JULIUS MOTT, F.G.S.	
EDWARD R. RUSSELL.	

Vice-Presidents :

JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S.

R. C. JOHNSON, F.R.A.S.

CHAS. J. ENGLISH.

Honorary Treasurer :

FREDERICK W. EDWARDS, M.S.A.

Honorary Secretary :

HENRY LONGUET HIGGINS.

Honorary Librarian :

R. McLINTOCK.

Council :

W. WATSON RUTHERFORD.	Rev. F. BONTE.
J. M. McMASTER.	JOHN RUTHERFORD, LL.B.
R. J. LLOYD, M.A., D.LIT.	GEORGE HIGHFIELD MORTON, F.G.S.
Mrs. SEPTON.	H. PERCY BOULNOIS, M.Inst.C.E.
JOSIAH MARPLES.	PETER COWELL.
J. W. THOMPSON, B.A.	Col. G. H. MORRISON.
ROBERT F. GREEN.	
WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, F.R.G.S.	

ORDINARY MEMBERS

ON THE SOCIETY'S ROLL AT THE CLOSE OF THE 82ND SESSION,

CORRECTED TO APRIL, 1893.

Life Members are Marked with an Asterisk.

- Nov. 12, 1888 Addinsell, S. A., 63 *Lord-street*
 Nov. 1, 1880 Allen, Francis B., 53 *Newsham-drive, Newsham Park*
 Nov. 12, 1877 Allman, G. W., *Penkett-road, Liscard*
 Nov. 12, 1880 Armour, Rev. Canon S. C., M.A., Merchant Taylors' School, *Crosby*
 Nov. 18, 1889 Armstrong, Rev. R. A., B.A., 5 *Marmion-road, Sefton Park*
 Oct. 31, 1892 Bailey, John L., B.A., 204 *Lodge-lane*
 Nov. 13, 1876 Ball, Geo. Henry, *Gambier-terrace, Hope-street*
 Dec. 10, 1866 Benas, Baron Louis, 5 *Prince's-avenue*, EX-PRESIDENT
 Jan. 9, 1882 Benas, Phineas A., 5 *Prince's-avenue*
 Feb. 6, 1882 Birchall, Charles, *Church-street, Egremont*
 Jan. 25, 1864 Birchall, James, *Westminster-road*, EX-PRESIDENT
 Jan. 25, 1886 Beckett, G., 31B *Hope-street*
 Nov. 3, 1890 Bonte, Rev. Fred., 34 *Rumney-road, Kirkdale*
 April 4, 1892 Boulnois, H. Percy, M.Inst.C.E., *Devonshire-road, Prince's Park*
 Nov. 14, 1892 Brodersen, Claus, *Heatherlea, Cressington-Park, Aigburth*

- Oct. 31, 1892 Brown, A. Theodore, *The Nunnery, St. Michael's Hamlet*
- Dec. 1, 1890 Brown, John S., 274 *Upper Parliament-street*
- Oct. 18, 1869 Brown, J. Campbell, D.Sc., F.C.S., Professor of Chemistry, *University College*.
- Nov. 14, 1892 Bulley, Arthur K., *Riversdale-road, West Kirby*
- *May 1, 1848 Byerley, Isaac, F.L.S., F.R.C.S., *Dingle-lane*
- Jan. 7, 1884 Calder, Miss Fanny, 49 *Canning-street*
- Oct. 19, 1891 Callie, J. W. S., *Massey Park, Liscard*
- Nov. 3, 1862 Cameron, John, M.D., F.R.C.P., Physician to the Royal Southern Hospital, 4 *Rodney-st.*
- Jan. 11, 1892 Carey, F. Stanton, M.A., *University College*.
- March 4, 1872 Carter, W., M.D., B.Sc., LL.B. (Lond.), F.R.C.P. (Lond.), 78 *Rodney-street, Ex-PRESIDENT*
- Dec. 2, 1861 Chadburn, William, 15 *James-street*
- Jan. 26, 1891 Clementson, Miss Margaret E., 2 *Rice Hey-road, Egremont*
- Oct. 18, 1869 Cook, Henry James, *Byrom-street*
- Dec. 10, 1888 Cookson, E. H., 3 *Mersey-street*
- Nov. 14, 1892 Coombe, Miss L. M., *Blackburne House*
- Oct. 17, 1892 Cooper, Arthur, 2 *Ivy-street*
- Dec. 13, 1875 Cowell, Peter, *Free Library, William Brown-street*
- Oct. 6, 1863 Crosfield, William, M.P., *Stanley-street and Annesley, Aigburth*
- Nov. 3, 1890 Culley, E. H., M.A., *School House, Monmouth*
- Feb. 23, 1891 Curwen, Geo., *Anglesea Terrace, Waterloo*
- Nov. 12, 1883 Daly, Chas., *Knowsley-buildings*
- Nov. 12, 1866 Davies, E., F.C.S., F.I.C., *The Laboratory, Chapel-chambers, 28 South Castle-street, Ex-PRESIDENT*
- Dec. 10, 1883 Davey, Wm. J. (Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co.), 20 *Castle-street, and 24 Brompton-avenue*

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

vii

- Nov. 28, 1892 Douglas, Robt. R., 150 *Bedford-street South*
 March 3, 1890 Duncan, H. C., *Annisfield, Bromborough, and*
 41 *North John-street*
 Nov. 18, 1889 Duncan, W. A., *Woolton*
 Nov. 14, 1887 Eastley, Richard, Superintendent Meter
 Department, Liverpool United Gas-Light
 Co., 156 *Bedford-street*
 March 21, 1870 Edwards, Edward E. (Smith, Edwards &
 Co.), *Adelaide-buildings, 4 Chapel-street*
 Oct. 15, 1883 Edwards, Frederick Wilkinson, M.S.A.,
Amoret House, Balliol-road, Bootle, Hon.
 TREASURER
 Nov. 16, 1891 Ellis, John W., M.B., F.E.S., 18 *Bodney-st.*
 April 7, 1862 English, Charles J., 171 *Upper Parliament-*
street, VICE-PRESIDENT
 Nov. 16, 1891 Evans, Wm., 18 *Sydenham-avenue*
 Nov. 17, 1890 Farrie, Hugh, 110 *Bedford-street*
 Nov. 2, 1891 Fazakerley, John, 40 *Paradise-street*
 *Dec. 13, 1852 Ferguson, William, F.L.S., F.G.S., *Kin-*
mundy House, near Mintlaw, N.B.
 Oct. 5, 1891 Fletcher, J. H., 17 *Tarlton-street*
 *March 19, 1885 Foard, James Thomas, 42 *John Dalton-street,*
Manchester
 Nov. 14, 1892 Forester, John, *Lyceum Library*
 Oct. 29, 1888 Forster, Walter P., *The Lawn, Earlston-rd.,*
Liscard
 April 20, 1891 Fueschsel, Miss Harriet, *Edge Hill College*
 Nov. 12, 1877 Galley, John, *Albert Mount, Victoria Park,*
Wavertree
 Nov. 13, 1882 Gardner, Willoughby, F.R.G.S., 18c *Ex-*
change-buildings
 Nov. 2, 1891 Gibbons, Ramsey, 19 *Ranelagh-street*
 Dec. 12, 1892 Gladstone, R., Junr., M.A., B.C.L., *Vale-*
road, Woolton
 Nov. 14, 1892 Gotch, Francis, M.A., F.R.S., M.R.C.S., 11
Prince's Park Terrace

- Oct. 29, 1877 Green, Robt. Frederick, 66 *Whitechapel*
- Nov. 14, 1892 Green, Wm. McQuie, 3 *Woburn Hill, Stoney-croft*
- April 20, 1891 Hale, Miss, Lady Principal, *Edge Hill College*
- Nov. 16, 1891 Hampson, R. Alfred, *Highfield South, Rock Ferry*
- *Jan. 21, 1856 Hardman, Lawrence, 35 *Rock Park, Rock Ferry*
- Dec. 10, 1883 Hargreaves, Jas., F.C.S., F.A.S., *Peel House-lane, Farnworth-by-Widnes*
- Oct. 17, 1892 Harley, Geo., 1 *Water-street*
- Oct. 17, 1892 Harrison, Miss, *The Woodlands, Crompton's-lane, Wavertree*
- Oct. 17, 1892 Harvey-Gibson, R. J., M.A., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., 43 *Sydenham-avenue*
- Dec. 13, 1875 Harpin, E. (Messrs. Bates, Stokes & Co.), 14 *Water-street*
- Nov. 30, 1874 Harvey, Henry, M.B., 57 *Wavertree-terrace, Picton-road, Wavertree*
- Oct. 17, 1892 Hawkins - Ambler, Geo. A., F.R.C.S.E., M.R.C.S., 162 *Upper Parliament-street*
- Oct. 16, 1882 Herdman, W. A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural History, University College, 32 *Bentley-road*
- March 7, 1880 Hess, Leonard O., 51 *Bedford-street*
- Dec. 28, 1846 Higgins, Rev. H. H., M.A., Cantab, F.C.P.S., 29 *Falkner-square, Ex-PRESIDENT*
- Jan. 13, 1879 Higgins, Henry Longuet, 7 *Sandringham-drive, Prince's Park, HON. SECRETARY*
- March 9, 1868 Holme, James, 10 *Huskisson-street* and 61 *Lord-street*
- *Dec. 14, 1862 Holt, Robert Durning, J.P., Mayor of Liverpool, 54 *Ullet-road*
- Dec. 14, 1891 Hope, Walter Bayard (Messrs. Fletcher and Hope), *South Castle-street, Liverpool*

- March 21, 1892 Hughes, Alfred, M.A., *Liverpool Institute, and 3 Arundel-avenue*
- March 10, 1879 Hughes, John W., *Allerton*
- Feb. 20, 1882 Hunter, Hugh, 25A *Duke-street*
- Oct. 31, 1887 Jeffs, Osmond W., 12 *Queen's-road, Rock Ferry*
- Jan. 26, 1863 Johnson, Richard C., F.R.A.S., 46 *Jermyn-street*, VICE-PRESIDENT
- Feb. 24, 1868 Jones, Charles W., *Field House, Wavertree*
- April 29, 1889 Jones, Morris P., 20 *Abercromby-square*
- Oct. 5, 1891 Jones, Hugh R., M.D., B.Sc., 58A *Grove-street*
- Oct. 17, 1892 Jones, Wm. Wastall, 18 *Water-street*
- Dec. 14, 1891 Keyes, Edmund M., B.A., 1 *Harrington-street*
- Feb. 8, 1892 Lamb, George, *Heywood Lawn, Great Crosby*
- Oct. 31, 1892 Lamb, John, *Heywood Lawn, Great Crosby*
- *Dec. 11, 1871 Leigh, Richmond, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., Physician to St. George's Hospital for Diseases of the Skin, 15 *St. James-road*
- Nov. 28, 1892 Lister, Jas., *Basil Grange, West Derby*
- Jan. 25, 1892 Livingstone, Rev. Canon, M.A., *Aigburth Vicarage*
- Nov. 14, 1881 Lloyd, Richard J., M.A., D.Lit., *Lombard-chambers, Bixteth-street*
- Dec. 1, 1879 Long, Rev. R. E., B.A., 51 *Hope-street*
- Jan. 23, 1882 Marcus, Heinrich, *Trafford-chambers, 58 South John-street*
- Nov. 17, 1873 Marples, Josiah, *Melwill-chambers, Lord-street, and Broomfield, Egremont*
- Nov. 14, 1892 Marshall, Anthony R., *Queen Insurance-buildings*
- Jan. 26, 1891 Mason, Robert, *Home Lea, Oakfield, Anfield*
- Oct. 20, 1879 McArthur, Charles, 165 *Bedford-street*
- Oct. 17, 1881 McLintock, R., 8 *Molynieux-avenue, Broad Green*, HONORARY LIBRARIAN
- Oct. 30, 1882 McMaster, John Maxwell (Messrs. J. B. Wilson, Dean & McMaster), 22A *Lord-street*
- Oct. 15, 1883 Mead, A. J., B.A., *Earlston-road, Liscard*

- Nov. 17, 1873 Mellor, James, Jun., *Weston, Blundellsands*
 Dec. 14, 1874 Mellor, John, *Grosvenor House, Crosby-road South, Waterloo*
 Nov. 3, 1890 Morrison, Col. G. H., J.P., 10 *Abercromby-square*
 Nov. 1, 1880 Morrow, John, *Greenhill-road, Allerton*
 March 6, 1882 Morton, George Henry, 14 *Grove-park*
 Jan. 8, 1855 Morton, Geo. Highfield, F.G.S., 209 *Edge-lane*
 Oct. 29, 1850 Mott, Albert Julius, F.G.S., *Detmore, Chareton Kings, Cheltenham*, EX-PRESIDENT
 Oct. 20, 1890 Mounsey, E., 13 *Falkner-square*
 Nov. 14, 1892 Mountfield, Rev. D. W., M.A., *Newsham-drive*
 Nov. 2, 1891 Munslow, Thos., 3 *Bryanston-road, Aigburth-road*
 *Oct. 21, 1867 Muspratt, E. K., *Seaforth Hall, Seaforth*
 Oct. 20, 1856 Nevins, John Birkbeck, M.D. Lond., M.R.C.S., late Lecturer on *Materia Medica*, Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, 3 *Abercromby-square*, EX-PRESIDENT
 Feb. 6, 1865 Newton, John, M.R.C.S., 44 *Rodney-street*, VICE-PRESIDENT
 Feb. 18, 1887 Nicholson, Robert, 11 *Harrington-street*
 Jan. 11, 1892 Norris, J. P., 33 *Selborne-street*
 Nov. 2, 1885 Oulton, Wm., *Hillside, Gateacre*, and *Albert-buildings*, 12 *Preeson's Row*
 Nov. 2, 1874 Palmer, John Linton, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Fleet Surgeon, R.N., 24 *Rock Park, Rock Ferry*
 Oct. 29, 1888 Paton, J. R., *Apsley-buildings, Old Hall-street*
 Nov. 4, 1861 Philip, Thomas D., 49 *South Castle-street*, and *Holly-road, Fairfield*
 *Nov. 15, 1886 Poole Sir Jas., 107 *Bedford-street South*
 Oct. 31 1892 Pooley, Miss, *Fairholme, Liscard*.
 *Jan. 22, 1866 Raffles, William Winter, 7 *Campden Hill Gardens, London, W.*

- Oct. 29, 1888 Raleigh, Miss, 3 *Greenheys East, Lodge-lane*
- April 25, 1892 Ranstead, William, *The Grove, Somerville, Seacombe*
- Nov. 12, 1860 Rathbone, Philip H., *Greenbank Cottage, Wavertree*
- March 24, 1862 Rathbone, Richard Reynolds, *Glan-y-Mendai, by Bangor, Anglesey*
- *Nov. 17, 1851 Redish, Joseph Carter, *Lyceum, Bold-street*
- Oct. 31, 1881 Rendall, G. H., M.A., Principal of University College, 38 *Bedford-street*, PRESIDENT
- Oct. 31, 1881 Rennie, J. W., 70 *Allington-street, Aigburth-road*
- Nov. 26, 1888 Rennie, F. C., 70 *Allington-street, Aigburth-road*
- Nov. 29, 1869 Roberts, Isaac, F.G.S., F.R.A.S., D.Sc., *Crowborough, Sussex*
- April 18, 1854 Rowe, James, 14 *South Castle-street*, and *Leyfield Grange, West Derby*
- Jan. 22, 1872 Russell, Edward R., *Daily Post Office, Victoria-street*, and 6 *Abercromby-square*, EX-PRESIDENT
- Feb. 18, 1884 Rutherford, John, LL.B., Lond., 4 *Harrington-street*
- Nov. 12, 1883 Rutherford, Wm. Watson (Messrs. Miller, Peel, Hughes & Co.), 8 *Cook-street*
- Dec. 12, 1892 Rye, Miss Ellen L., *Bedford College, Bedford-street*
- Nov. 12, 1888 Scholefield, J. W., J.P., *Pembroke-road, Bootle*
- March 19, 1866 Sephton, Rev. John, M.A., 90 *Huskisson-street*
- Oct. 15, 1883 Sephton, Mrs., 90 *Huskisson-street*
- Jan. 23, 1893 Simpson, J. H., 7 *Adelaide-road, Seaforth*
- Oct. 31, 1881 Smith, A. T., Jun., 13 *Bentley-road, Prince's Park*

- Dec. 10, 1866 Smith, Elisha, 27 *Alexandra-drive*
 April 4, 1870 Smith, James, 37 *North John-street*
 Feb. 23, 1863 Smith, J. Simm, 1 *Warham-road, Croydon*
 April 20, 1874 Snow, Rev. T., M.A., *St. Mary's, Highfield-street*
 Jan. 25, 1892 Snow, Wm., B.A., 14 *Jermyn-street*
 Nov. 16, 1891 Staunton, M., 3 *Canning-street*
 Nov. 18, 1878 Steel, Richard, 18 *Hackins Hey*, Ex-PRESIDENT
 Oct. 31, 1892 Steele, Mrs. R. T., 31 *Prince's Avenue*
 Nov. 3, 1890 Steeves, George T., *Mount Allars, Bebington*
 Feb. 19, 1883 Steeves, Gilbert M., *Mount Allars, Bebington*
 Oct. 17, 1887 Stookes, Alexander, M.D., 1 *Great George-square*
 Oct. 21, 1889 Stubbs, Rev. C. W., M.A., *Wavertree Rectory, Wavertree*
 April 17, 1886 Tapscott, W. W., 39 *Old Hall-street*, and 41 *Parkfield-road, Aigburth*
 *Feb. 19, 1865 Taylor, John Stopford, M.D., *Aberd.*, F.R.G.S., 6 *Grove Park, Liverpool*
 Oct. 21, 1878 Thompson, J. W., B.A., *Lond. and Victoria*, 22 *Lord-street*
 April 20, 1891 Tucker, Miss Blanche, *Pupil Teachers' College, Shaw Street*
 *Feb. 19, 1844 Turnbull, James Muter, M.D. *Edin.*, M.R.C.P., *The Spa Hotel, Tunbridge Wells*
 Jan. 25, 1892 Turton, Wm., 2 *Kimberley-street*
 Jan. 25, 1892 Turton, W. G., 2 *Kimberley-street*
 Oct. 21, 1861 Unwin, William Andrews, 9 *Rumford-place*
 Nov. 15, 1880 Vicars, John, 8 *St. Alban's-square, Bootle*
 Feb. 19, 1877 Wallace, John, M.D., *Gambier-terrace*
 Jan. 27, 1862 Walmsley, Gilbert G., 50 *Lord-street*
 Jan. 9, 1865 Walthew, William, 6 *Brown's-buildings*, and *Vine Cottage, Aughton*

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

xiii

- Feb. 20, 1893 Watson, Rev. T., 27 *Great Mersey Street*
 April 15, 1889 White, A. G., 71 *Kingsley-road*
 Nov. 14, 1870 Wood, John J., 20 *Lord-street*
 Nov. 17, 1884 Wortley, Wm., *Walton Grange, Walton*
 Nov. 14, 1892 Wright, Rev. E. A., M.A., 44 *Rock Park,*
 Rock Ferry
 Nov. 13, 1876 Yates, Edward Wilson, 37 *Castle-street*

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR.

- Agriculture (U. S. Govt. Dept. of) : Secretary's Report, 1891 ;
 N. American Fauna, No. 7 ; Hawks and Owls of U. S.
 Alkali Report (Blue Book) 1892.
 American Assn. for Adv. of Science : Proc., 1891, 1892.
 Anthropological Institute : Proc. to May, 1893.
 Antiquaires du Nord (Société des) Copenhagen : Mémoires,
 1891 ; Antiquities Scandinaves, Hefte ii.
 Antiquaries (Soc. of) : Proc. to June, 1893, and Index.
 Architects (R. Inst. of Brit.) ; Trans., vol. viii ; Journ. ; Calendar.
 Arts (Soc. of) : Journal, Sept. 9th to Nov. 4th, 1892.
 Arts (Royal Scottish Soc. of) : Trans. xiii-2.
 Asiatic Soc. of Bengal : Proc., 1892-93 ; Journal, vol. lxi, pt. I,
 No. 2, 3, 4 and Extra ; pt. II, No. 2, Title, &c.
 Astor Library (N. York) : Report, 1892.
 Royal Astron. Soc. : Mem., vol. I ; M. Notices to June, 1893.
 Bath Nat. Hist. and Antn. Field Club : Proc., vol. vii, No. 4.
 Belfast Nat. Hist. and Phil. Soc. : Report, &c., for 1891-92.
 Birkenhead Free Library : Report, 1891-92.
 Birkenhead Lit. and Sc. Soc. : Rep., 1892-93, and Pres. Address.
 Birmingham Philosophical Soc. : Proc., 1890-91, 1891-92.
 Bordeaux, Société des Sciences : Bulletin, iv-2, and Appendices.
 Boston (U. S.) American Academy of Arts and Sciences :
 Proc., 1890-91, 1891-92 ; Memorial of late President.
 Boston (U. S.) Soc. of Nat. Hist. : Proc., xxv-3-4 ; Mem., iv-10.
 Bristol Naturalists' Soc. : Proc., 1892-93 ; Annual Report, &c.
 British Assn. for Advt. of Science : Proc., Edinburgh, 1892.
 Buddhist Text Society : Journal, No. 1.

- Canada, Royal Society of (Montreal): Proc. and Trans., 1891.
 Canadian Institute (Toronto): Trans. to Dec., 1892.
 "Canary Islands as a Health Resort," pamphlet by Dr. J. W. Hayward.
 Chemical Society: Journal, Oct., 1892, to Aug., 1893; Proc., No. 115 to 126; List of Officers, &c.
 Cherbourg, Société Nationale des Sciences Naturelles et Mathématiques: Mémoires, xviii.
 Chester Soc. of Nat. Sc. and Lit.; Rep., &c., 1891-92, 92-93.
 Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sc.: Trans., viii-2, ix-1.
 Copenhagen, Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark: Bulletin, 1892; List of Publications, 1741-1891.
 Cornwall Royal Polytechnic Soc.: Report, 1892.
 Cornwall, Royal Institution of (Trans.).
 Dublin, Royal Irish Academy: Proc., Dec., 1892; Trans., xxx-1-2-3; Todd Lecture Series, iii-iv.
 East India Association: Journal, xxv, No. 1 to 8.
 Edinburgh, Royal Society of: Proc., vol. xviii.
 Engineers (Chief of): Report, 1892 (U. S. Army).
 Engineers (Institute of Civil): Minutes of Proc., vols. cx, cxi, cxii, and Index; Charter, &c.
 Entomological Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire: Report, 1892.
 "Entomologisk Tidskrift," 1892, No. 1 to 4 (Stockholm).
 "Free Libraries," Address by A. Ireland (Manchester).
 Geographical Soc. (American): Bulletin, xxiv-3-4, xxv-1-2.
 Geograph. Soc. of Australasia, Queensland Br.; Proc. vii-2.
 Geographische Gesellschaft (Vienna): Mittheilungen, 1892.
 Geological Assn.: Proc., xii-8-9-10.
 Geological Assn. (L'pool): Journal, 1891-92.
 Geological Society: Q. Journal, No. 192 to 195.
 Geological Society (Edinb.): Trans. vi-3.
 Geological Society (Glasgow): Trans. ix-2.
 Geological Society (L'pool): Proc. 1891-92.
 Geological Survey of India (Calcutta): Records, xxv-3-4, xxvi-1-2; Index to Memoirs; Index to Genera described in "*Palæontologica Indica*."

- Geological Survey (U. S.): Mineral Resources of U. S. 1889-90; Contributions to N. American Ethnology, vol. vii.
 " *Geology of Wirral*," by O. W. Jeffs.
 Glasgow Philosophical Soc.: Proc., xiii and Index.
 Glasgow University: Calendar, 1893-94.
 Göttingen, K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und Georg Augusts Universität: Nachrichten, 1892, No. 1 to 16; 1893, No. 1 to 10.
 Greenwich Observatory: Obs. 1890; Appendix to do. 1889; Annals of Cape Obs., vol. i, parts 2-3-4.
 Harlem, Société Hollandaise des Sciences: Archives Néerlandaises, xxv-5, xxvi-2-3-4, xxvi; 1-2.
 Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.): Reports, 1891-92.
 Harvard Museum of Comp. Zoology: Bulletin, xxiii-4-5-6, xxiv, 1 to 5, xvi-11-12; Rep., 1891-92; Mem., xiv-3.
 " *Harvard University Bulletin*," 53-54-55.
 Helsingfors, *Fennicae Societatis Acta*, xviii.
 Hertfordshire Nat. Hist. Soc. and Field Club: Trans.
 Kiew, Société des Naturalistes: Memoirs, xii-1-2.
 Königsberg in Preussen, Physikalisch-ökonomische Gesellschaft: Schriften, 1892.
 Leeds Phil. and Literary Soc.: Report, 1892-93.
 Leicester Lit. and Phil. Soc.: Trans., ii-12, iii-1-2.
 Lick Observatory (San Francisco): " *Atmospheric Absorption of Photographic Rays* " (Contributions, No. 3).
 Linnean Soc.: Journ. (Botany) 202-203-204, (Zoology) 154, 158.
 Liverpool Free Lib. and Mus. Committee: Report, 1891-92.
 Liverpool Health Report, 1892.
 Liverpool Law Students' Assn., " *The Lex Salica*," by E. Jenks.
 Liverpool Nat. Field Club: Proc., &c., 1892.
 Liverpool Philomathic Soc.: Proc., 1891-92.
 Liverpool Amateur Photographic Assn.: Report, 1892.
 Liverpool Physical Society: Proc., vol. i.
 Liverpool Science Students' Assn.: Rep., 1890-91, 91-92.
 Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.: Mem. and Proc., v-2, vi, vii-1.
 Manchester Literary Club: Papers, xviii.

- Royal Meteorological Society: Q. Journal. No. 84 to 87.
 Meteorological Soc. (Scottish): Journal, 1891.
 Royal Micros. Society: Journal, Oct., 1892, to June, 1893.
 Munich. K.B. Akad. der Wiss. Math. phys. Classe: Sitzungsberichte 1888-92; Abhandlungen, Bd. xvi-3, xvii-1-2-3; four Pamphlets; Fraunhofer's Gesammelte Schriften. Philos. philol. und Hist. Classe: Sitzungsberichte, 1888-90; Abhandlungen, Bd. xviii-2-3, xix-1-2-3.
 "Nature" to August 10th, 1893.
 Naval Observatory (U. S.) Report, 1891-92.
 N. S. Wales, Royal Soc. of: Journ. and Proc., 1892.
 N. York Academy of Sciences: Annals, vi, No. 1 to 6, vii, No. 1 to 5; Trans., x-7-8, xi, No. 1 to 5.
 N. York Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist.: Bulletin, 1892; Report, 1892.
 N. York State Library: Bulletin (Legislation) 3.
 N. York State Univ.: Regent's Rep., 1890.
 N. Zealand Institute (Wellington): Trans. and Proc., 1891.
 Paris, École Polytechnique: Journal, cah. 61 and 62.
 "Pasilingua: die Sprache von Pan-Amerika, und die Universal-Sprache," by P. Steiner.
 St. Petersburg, Acad. Imp. des Sc.: Bulletin, N. S. iii-1-2-3.
 Philadelphia, Franklin Inst.: Journal, Sept., 1892, to Aug., 1893.
 Philadelphia Acad. of Nat. Sciences: Proc.
 Philadelphia, American Phil. Soc. Proc., 139-140.
 Philadelphia Zoological Soc.: Report, 1892.
 Royal Physical Soc. (Edinburgh): Proc., 1891-92.
 Plymouth Institution: Report and Trans., 1891-92.
 Powys-land Club: Coll. Hist. and Arch. xxvi-2-3, xxvii-1.
 Psychological Research (Society for): Proc., Dec., 1892.
 Rochester (U. S.) Acad. of Science: Proc. ii-1.
 Royal Inst. of Gt. Britain: Proc., No. 86.
 Royal Society: Proc., No. 314 to 324; Book List.
 Santiago (Chile), Deut. Wiss. Verein: Verhandl., ii-4.
 "Science Gossip," Oct., 1892, to Aug., 1893.
 Smithsonian Institution (Washington, U. S.): Rep. on Nat. Museums, 1890; Contrib. to Knowledge, vol. xxviii and



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LIVERPOOL
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

EIGHTY-SECOND SESSION, 1892-93.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, LIVERPOOL.

Annual Meeting, October 3, 1892. Principal Rendall in the chair. The following Report was read and passed :

REPORT.

In presenting their Report of the Society's proceedings during its Eighty-first Session, the Council are glad to note signs of continued progress in the interest and usefulness of the meetings of the Society.

Twenty-three ordinary members were elected during the Session, being a larger number than during any one of the previous six sessions, and though the death roll has been exceptionally heavy, there is a net increase of seven in the number of ordinary members: the Society consisting, at the close of the Session, of 173 ordinary members, 29 honorary members, 28 corresponding members, and 11 associates.

The average attendance at the ordinary meetings of

the Society has been raised from 60 during the previous Session to 70 during the Session now concluded.

The Council regret the loss during the Session of the two oldest honorary members of the Society, the late Duke of Devonshire, and the late Sir George Biddell Airy, who had been members since the years 1836 and 1838 respectively.

Since the close of the Session, the Society has to deplore the loss of one of its oldest and most venerated members—the late Dr. Drysdale, who was elected as far back as January, 1848, and who was president during the Sessions of 1877–8 and 1878–9. Of his well-known eminence, both in his own profession and as a scientific man, there is no need for the Council to speak; but they cannot close this Report without recording their grateful sense of the very important and active services rendered by Dr. Drysdale to the Society during his long membership of upwards of forty-four years.

The annual election of Office Bearers and Members of Council, and the re-election of the Associates, then took place.

The following Resolutions were passed:—1. “That the laws relating to honorary members and corresponding members be altered so as to remove the present restrictions on residence within a certain distance from Liverpool.” 2. “That Mr. T. J. Moore, F.L.S., who has for upwards of thirty-two years been an ordinary member of the Society, be elected an honorary member.”

Principal Rendall, the President elect, then delivered his first Inaugural Address, entitled “The Genius of Greece.”

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

I. Oct. 17, 1892. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Dr. Nevins, entitled "Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period—Henry VII to Elizabeth."

II. Oct. 31. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Rev. R. A. Armstrong, B.A., entitled "Tennyson as Doubter and Believer."

III. Nov. 14. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Mr. Francis Gotch, F.R.S., on "The Appreciation of Musical Sounds."

IV. Nov. 28. Mr. John Newton in the chair. Paper by the Rev. F. Bonte, entitled "The Reform and Restoration of Offenders."

V. Dec. 12. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by the Rev. L. P. Jacks, M.A., on "The Religious Idealism of the Purgatory of Dante."

VI. Jan. 9, 1893. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Mr. Edward Davies, F.C.S., entitled "The Nature and Function of Scientific Evidence."

VII. Jan. 23. Mr. John Newton in the chair. Paper by Mr. Josiah Marples, entitled "A French Nobleman of the Times of the Revolution."

VIII. Feb. 6. Principal Rendall in the chair. Lecture by Professor Herdman, D.Sc., F.R.S., on "Sea Fisheries," illustrated by lantern slides.

IX. Feb. 20. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Mr. Geo. Lamb, entitled "The Ethics of Taxation."

X. March 6. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Hugh R. Jones, M.A., M.D., and Herbert E. Davies, B.A., B.Sc., entitled "Excessive Infant Mortality in Liverpool: its Causes and Prevention."

XI. March 20. Principal Rendall in the chair. Paper by Professor Raleigh, M.A., on "Shelley."

XII. April 10. Dr. Nevins in the chair. Paper by Mr. Hugh Farrie, entitled "A Plea for Sanity."

XIII. April 24. Mr. John Newton in the chair. Address by Mr. Frederic W. H. Myers, on "The Aims and Methods of Psychical Research."

Ordinary Members elected during the Session: Mr. George A. Hawkins-Ambler, F.R.C.S.E., M.R.C.S., Mr. Arthur Cooper, Mr. Wm. W. Jones, Mr. R. J. Harvey-Gibson, M.A., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Mr. George Harley, Mrs. R. T. Steele, Miss Harrison, Mr. John L. Bailey, B.A., Mr. John Lamb, Miss Pooley, Mr. A. Theodore Brown, Mr. Wm. McQuie Green, Mr. Arthur K. Bulley, Mr. John Forester, Mr. Anthony R. Marshall, Mr. Francis Gotch, M.A., F.R.S., M.R.C.S., Mr. Claus Brodersen, Miss L. M. Coombe, Rev. D. W. Mountfield, M.A., Rev. E. A. Wright, M.A., Mr. James Lister, Mr. Robt. R. Douglas, Rev. T. H. Martin, B.A., Mr. R. Gladstone, Jun., M.A., B.C.L., Miss Ellen L. Rye, Mr. J. H. Simpson, and the Rev. T. Watson.

Numbers present at the Annual and the Thirteen Ordinary Meetings: 81, 219, 109, 102, 68, 82, 42, 70, 60, 38, 60, 144, 54, 213. Average attendance, 95.

THE GENIUS OF GREECE.

By **GERALD H. RENDALL,**

PRINCIPAL OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

‘We are all Greeks,’ writes Shelley, ‘our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece’; and beside this testimony may be set the yet more weighty, because more guarded and judicial, verdict of Sir Henry Maine:—‘Not one of those intellectual excellencies which we regard as characteristic of the great progressive races of the world—not the law of the Romans, not the philosophy and sagacity of the Germans, not the luminous order of the French, not the political aptitude of the English, not that insight into physical nature to which all races have contributed—would apparently have come into existence, if those races had been left to themselves. To one small people, covering in its original seat no more than a handsbreadth of territory, it was given to create the principle of Progress. That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin.’ Such sentiments have little weight or meaning for the world in which we move; but for this Society it seems not inappropriate to spend an hour in looking backwards, in measuring our debt, in realising what distinctive message and meaning Greece has for us to-day. But if for a little we turn back, for recreation and suggestion, to the contemplation of Greece, it is not with the belief that the present can usefully borrow from the past by any attempt at direct or servile reproduction. In knowledge and acquirement, thanks mainly to impulses derived from Greece itself, the race has

not stood still, and the inheritance of centuries exacts new modes and uses and expressions of such spiritual or intellectual powers as we possess. In one sense, namely the sense that changed circumstances invite the self-same energies to very different forms of exhibition, history never repeats itself, nor life; and Greece, if it can enforce any lesson, proclaims the primary obligation of moral and intellectual independence, of hazarding our own experiments, of walking by our own lights, of trusting the authorisations of our own nature. But though we may not mechanically copy the processes of the past, or reproduce results, we may, by sympathetic study of a noble temper manifesting itself upon the stage of history, come by degrees to apprehend its instincts, and by allowing them to creep into the study of our imagination and to fire it with generous emulations, at the last assimilate ourselves to its example.

The adoption of Greek as a school discipline fostered a disposition to draw lines hard and fast, and to cramp the conception of Hellenism within set limits of time, and place, and literary production. Attention was concentrated on a narrow range of authors, on a brief compact succession of events, on a few products of fine art, denoted *classical*, to the undue exclusion and disparagement of all that was labelled ante- or post-classical. Thus Marathon and Chæroneia, the confines of Athenian greatness, were made the termini of Hellenism. Homer was forced into the nearest possible contiguity with the sixth century B.C., or even ascribed to the era of Pisistratus, while the prolific aftercrop of the Greek genius—Alexandrian, Roman, or Byzantine,—in history Polybius, Plutarch, and the Byzantines, in philosophy Marcus Aurelius and Plotinus, not to say Aristotle himself, in theology Origen and the whole body of Greek fathers, in science Ptolemy and Galen, in

poetry the sweet singers of the Anthology, were more and more left unheeded and unexplored. In turning from the great scholars of the nineteenth century to those of the seventeenth, if one misses something of finish and acumen, one gains an overpowering impression of variety, and stretch, and catholicity of range. And thanks to the modern interest in origins, which the teachings of evolution have so quickened and fertilised, the researches of the spade and the investigations of the archæologist, the philologist and the comparative mythologist are year by year extending our horizon backwards, and providing solid bases on which to reconstruct the past. The evidences of Hissarlik, Mycenæ, Naukratis cannot be gainsaid, and substantiate the historic reality of much that a few years since seemed to dissolve into mists of legend and poetic fancy. We now know that Greek civilisation was no sudden upshoot of the eighth or seventh century B.C., but rooted in immemorial traditions of a Mycenæan empire not unfaithfully reflected in the poems of Homer,—an empire of walled and ‘stablished cities,’ and far-ranging commerce, and wealth and precious metals; an empire which not only fortified itself upon the promontories and isthmuses of Greece. and dotted its island stations along the Ægean highroad to Asia Minor and the Levant, but which, fifteen hundred years before Christ, was planting settlements in the Nile Delta, and effectively leaguering itself with peoples of three continents, of Lycia, Italy, and Libya, to smite the charioted hosts of Egypt. And this empire was not a short-lived mushroom growth, still less a figment of the poet of its Ilian war, but through ups and downs of power maintained itself for centuries, trafficking, it would seem, with Italy, and Hungary, and the far Baltic, and deriving thence its knowledge, appliances, and handicrafts, to at least as good effect as from Egypt

Sidon, or Assyria. The Homeric poems, born of the decadence rather than the prime of 'Mycenae rich in gold,' attest the ripeness of its culture, and preserve the lineaments of that which was indeed the crown and flower of the bronze age, which had not only mastered the best secrets of shaping, painting and glazing pottery wares, but had attained a skill in metal inlay and fine goldsmith's work that few subsequent designers have been able to surpass. For in design and execution, the *repoussé* work of the Vapheio cups is said to rival the best products of the Italian Renaissance itself.

Thus Greece of the classic days is not, as once it seemed, a sudden and random outcrop of unforetold capacities, but a reawakening rather of autochthonous hereditary gifts, reasserting their power with each new lease of opportunity, and there is unsuspected fulness of historic divination in the 'O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children,' attributed by Plato to the Egyptian priest. For every historic nation the words contain the double reassurance that youth is durable and youth renewable. A nation's youth rests not on days or dates, and is not tied to any irrecoverable past, but is a native spirit and a temper that has power perpetually, or at intervals of centuries, to renew itself. Youth past is the promise, not the denial, of youth to come. And if in Chaucer, or in Shakespeare, or in Shelley, we catch accents of the mirth, and ardour, and buoyancy of youth, it is an assurance that the jaded retrospective temper of to-day is capable of like renovations of the eternal and indwelling youth.

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

‘We must be free’—and as the first obvious note of Hellenism, I should be disposed to select *freedom*, not, of course, restricting the idea to the sphere of social obligation, but perceiving its presence in the spheres of thought, and art, and morals, as well as of political relation. The Greek thought of freedom was new, and worthy of the flexible genius of the Greek people. It was freedom owning law. It implies detestation of tyranny, the arbitrary unchecked assertion of a single will, but it does not imply impatience of control, that anarchy which to the Greek mind was scarcely less a contradiction of freedom than despotism itself.

Praise not thou the slavish lot,
And the lawless, praise it not,
Praise it not,

is the chorus of the Eumenides in the great ode in which they base civic freedom on the eternal sanctions of justice and self-control. Such freedom is in some sense the harmony of opposites, of the principle of authority and the principle of self-assertion; for law rests on the recognition of the collective reason by the individual, and loyal allegiance to its deliverances, the reasoned and willing acceptance by the individual of canons of truth and right that lie outside himself,—thus satisfying the Greek instinct for reason and for the mean. In all spheres this is true, quite as much, if not more, in the sphere of productive art, as in that of social relation. In the political sphere it finds expression in the term νόμος law, on which the Greek imagination delighted to fasten, in every mood of ingenious speculation, or conscious patriotism, or reverent admiration. About the person of the lawgiver there hung something of superhuman sanctity that in moral dignity lifts the office almost above the levels of Greek godhead. Minos, and Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus

are first 'of the sons of God, who were righteous in their lifetime,' into whose presence the dying Socrates believes his soul may journey after death, and 'that pilgrimage will be worth making.' And in a later myth we read how, before the days of Zeus, imperfect judgments consigned departed souls to the isles of the blessed or the house of vengeance, but that Zeus entrusted the arbitrament to the great lawgivers

Wielding a sceptre of gold and giving laws to the dead

to judge dead souls, stripped of all earthly shows and the disguises of mortality, and to assign the doom of torment, or remedial pains, or everlasting bliss. And the *Laws* of Plato have this opening.

Athenian. Tell me, sirs; is a God or some man supposed to be the author of your laws?

Cleinias (of Crete). A God, sir; in very truth a God: among us Cretans he is said to have been Zeus, but in Lacedæmon, whence our friend here comes, I believe they would say that Apollo is their law-giver; would they not, Megillus?

Megillus (of Sparta). Certainly.

Athenian. And do you, Cleinias, believe, as Homer tells, that every ninth year Minos went to converse with his Olympian sire, and was inspired by him to make laws for your cities?

Cleinias. Yes, that is our tradition; and there was Rhadamanthus, a brother of his, with whose name you are familiar; he is reputed to have been the justest of men, and we Cretans are of opinion that he earned this reputation from his righteous administration of justice when he was alive.

In the political sphere the realisation of freedom through law meets us on the first threshold of recorded history. In the usage of the Agora, the assembly of the freemen, the Homeric chieftain acknowledges already the collective reason of the host. Despotism, of the Oriental type, is unknown, and the king is bound by the

valid though unwritten precedents, the *themistes*, which safeguard his people's rights. The absence of all such covenants of law is a stigma cast upon the brutal savagery of the uncivilised Cyclopes. And even in the 'iron age' of Hesiod, when 'gift-greedy kings' ate up their subjects with rapacity, the tradition of law and of persuasion as the basis of authority retains its ineradicable hold. The same guiding conception of freedom by law led the Greeks surely on through oligarchy, with its inevitable lapses into tyranny, to the republican freedom of the developed city state. At the epoch of the wars of liberation, the Greek mind had attained full consciousness of freedom by law as constituting the distinguishing mark between the free Hellene and the despotised barbarian. 'Though free, they are not wholly free: their lord and master is law,' says the Spartan Demaratus, describing his countrymen to the Great King. And the very words are echoed from Persian lips in the great drama of enfranchised Greece:—

Atossa. Who rules and shepherds them, the lord and master of the host?

Chorus. To no man are they vassals, nor subject unto any.

Law thus understood as the condition, or rather the realisation, of freedom, rises above political to moral sanctions, and claims jurisdiction over the whole life. It is the voice of that collective reason and collective need, which may justly claim every sacrifice and uttermost obedience from each member of the commonwealth. It was indeed variously realised, sometimes as an uncompromising discipline, sometimes as a free devotion. In 'man-taming' Sparta, the citizen, 'obedient to the laws,' 'disciplined his life without complaint, and surrendered it without price,' even as the three-hundred who at Thermopylæ made ready for inevitable death, 'dancing and leaping and combing their locks:' while the great

Athenian, commemorating the slain, calls on their fellow-citizens 'to fix their eyes on the greatness of Athens, till they felt for her the passion of a lover,' and in the strength of that devotion 'freely to give their lives as the fairest offering they could present at the banquet of their country's feast.' Law, as the expression of civic freedom, aspired to cover the whole ground of morality regarded as duty to neighbour, and so long as the state could advance, and the individual admit, such claims as these, philosophers were justified in regarding 'Ethic' as a branch of 'Politic.' The Greek, too, it may be observed, with his native distrust of formalism, and his persistent resort to the spirit rather than the letter, resolutely held to his pristine sense of law as enunciating and gaining its validity from the collective reason of the community. Greece never tolerated the growth of case-made law, or allowed law to harden into a monopoly of professional experts, and so become a terror to well-doers or an instrument of the oppressor. 'What Solon meant or said' was still in the mind of Demosthenes a synonym for equity, and Law, based upon ethical sanctions, and viewed as a spirit rather than a letter, could be revered as a guide for this life, a pledge of happiness, a nurse of virtue, a 'service of the Gods,' till the contemplation of it inspires the philosopher to almost dithyrambic fervours, such as proclaim that 'her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world.'

Fancy played with the word in homonym or etymology. 'Laws' were the strains of music (*νόμοι*) quired by the state, or 'law' signified the dispensation of reason (*νοῦ διανομή*). And gradually as the collective reason of the state extended into the conception of a collective reason of the universe, schools of philosophy perceived and taught that true moral freedom for the individual, not otherwise

than his political freedom in the state, lay not in rebellious self-assertion, but in ready self-subordination to the reason of the universe, the law of things revealed in the working of phenomena. 'All things by law' becomes the aphoristic summary of right physical and moral being, 'to walk with God, following the footsteps of reason and of law' the final formula of the perfected life.

In Thought and in Art the same conception of freedom prevailed, spontaneity of perception, thought, or impulse ever acquiescing in the requirements of some higher order supplied or demanded by the collective reason or intuitions of men. Hence it comes that while the history and thought of Greece, more than of any other nation, seems alive with vivid, strong, and picturesque personalities, the classic literature and art of Greece is resolutely impersonal. To Greek sentiment ὕβρις, Insolence, is the arch-crime and mother of crimes. Everywhere there is scrupulous avoidance of any note of egotism. Throughout the whole range of epos and of drama not a distant allusion directs personal attention to Homer or Æschylus, Sophocles or Euripides. In Epiniian odes Pindar turns always from personal glorification to some wider theme of praise, whereby 'the victor is transfigured into a glorious personification of his race, and the present is reflected magnified, illuminated in the mirror of the mythic past.' In votive statues, whether of successful athletes or of departed friends, the sculptor shunned personal representation, and did not pass from the ideal suggestion to realistic portraiture. The Athenians, it is said, imprisoned Pheidias for introducing portraits of Pericles and of himself among the warriors contending with the Amazons. Considering that in the fifth century history (as its name denotes) was a direct outcome of personal adventure and inquiry, and that the 'original authorities' were for the

most part living actors in the drama, what can be more significant than our imperfect knowledge of the career and travels of so unsophisticated a writer as Herodotus? and what historian has surpassed the austere reserves of Thucydides in excision of all that seemed irrelevant, in the restraint of personal judgments, in description and dramatisation of events with which his own association was so intimate. Who would suppose the historian had himself been among the sufferers from the plague, or had lost by it a close and honoured friend in Pericles, or was one with the Thucydides whose failure at Amphipolis is chronicled so calmly.

Even in Oratory, as in Philosophy, the same holds true. To be personal is in a sense the essence of many forms of oratory, and not least of political oratory in a democracy governed by public debate; but never was party orator less egoistic in form and temper of appeal than Demosthenes, and never did philosopher go so far to merge his own personality in that of another, as Plato in that of Socrates.

With this preliminary thought, we may pass in review the successive forms of literature to which Greece gave in turn the most perfect form, or under the given conditions the most perfect form, of which they have proved capable. Everywhere there is the same creative spontaneity, everywhere the same disciplined subjection of caprice, the same sensitive obedience to the conditions that some authoritative canon of human instinct was felt to impose. As in Epic gift Homer stands not so much unsurpassed, as wholly unapproached, so for variety, for speed, and for sustained dignity of movement, the Homeric hexameter has proved itself a matchless vehicle for narrative descriptive verse. No quantitative metre has superseded or equalled it in its own field; and no successor

has improved Homeric handling by later innovations. Another form of free individuality, that nursed by Aeolian aristocracy, devised the forms of Lesbian Lyric with such completeness and perfection as well nigh it would seem to have exhausted the possibilities of the lyric stanza, and Sappho in her fragments still stands peerless among poets. Drama, history, philosophy, oratory, each in their turn arise, spontaneous, unerring, exemplary, in their free adoption of appropriate means, and in their loyal acceptance of the conditions of perfection.

In drama, as set forth on the Athenian stage, the action of collective taste was immediate and direct in operation, but so sure in instinct and spontaneous in appreciation, that there is no indication that it checked or thwarted any step towards right development. Yet Attic tragedy is a masterly exhibition of disciplined freedom. Absolutely unmechanical as it was, it admits at certain points the application of mechanical tests. Metre for instance may be tested, its numbers analysed and counted. Consider even in iambic dialogue the disciplined precision that is implied by the so-called law of the caesura and of the final cretic. But the management of choric metre is more remarkable still. At this present day there are probably but one or two living Englishmen who, without reckoning up of syllables could compose a lyric system in strict strophic and antistrophic correspondence. To the Greek the mechanical difficulties must have been considerably greater, when we remember that quantitative correspondence was subordinate to accentual intonation. Yet in the great days of drama we find the feat repeated without effort by a multitude of poets, tragic and comic, producing plays, or sets of plays, for every yearly Dionysia, with a profusion so boundless, a facility so perfected, a force so unabated, and a fancy so creative and inex-

haustible, that the *Bacchæ* of Euripides comes after the poet's eightieth year, and the *Oedipus Coloneus* is possibly the latest of the dramas ascribed to the nonagenarian Sophocles. And in their strict metrical observances the noticeable point is this, that these poets were not working within the restrictions of set rules or hard and fast traditions, but with receptive sensibility conforming their best instincts to the collective and intuitive perceptions of their hearers. Another illustration might be drawn from the so-called 'Unities' of Tragedy, of which Dr. Johnson with his peremptory common sense declares that 'they have given more trouble to the poet, than pleasure to the author.' These 'laws' were the deductions of French critics from Greek practice. Need it be said that to Greek dramatists they are no *laws* at all in the sense of prescribed rules? They had never heard or thought of them, and the best writers in their best works, Æschylus in his *Oresteia*, Sophocles in his *Antigone* and *Trachinians*, Euripides in his *Alcestis*, violate them without scruple, when occasion calls. The formulation of the laws is but an evidence, how intuitively and obediently Athenian genius discerned and acquiesced in the particular conditions imposed by the Athenian stage.

In historical composition the working of the same spirit may be traced. No sooner had the wars of liberation secured political enfranchisement alike for the European and Ægean Greeks, and given free scope and theme for historic inquiry, than Greek genius passed almost at a bound from credulous and meagre annalism to the organic completeness which animates the work of Herodotus. Here too, in silence as in speech, in commendation as in censure, not only personal self-assertion, but even local or racial partialities are instinctively subordinated to the due exhibition of his Pan-Hellenic theme. And

Thucydides explicitly submits his genius to the collective instinct and judgment of mankind, when, with his half-scornful accent of austere restraint he prefaces his work with the declaration that writing for posterity, and not for vain glory or effect, he had sought to make his history 'an everlasting possession, not a *tour de force* for momentary diversion or display.' Here surely is the true recognition of right reason, as the bar before which all literature must stand approved. 'It is good for us,' Longinus writes, 'when at work on some subject which demands a lofty and majestic style, to imagine to ourselves how Homer might have expressed this or that, or how Plato or Demosthenes would have clothed it with sublimity, or, in history, Thucydides. By fixing an eye of emulation on those high examples they will become like beacons to guide us, and will perhaps lift up our souls to the fulness of the stature we conceive.' To write before the bar of reason is not only to remember time to come, but likewise in Lamb's delightful phrase, 'to write for antiquity.'

Greek Oratory is a no less signal illustration of freedom so conceived. From the time of Pericles and Gorgias it was erected into a fine art, and the master artist is Demosthenes. To the ordinary reader it must seem that no oratory is so free, so unpremeditated, so devoid of artifice, in point of diction or of arrangement, as that of Demosthenes. No speeches are less easily reducible to an articulated skeleton or abstract, or show less mechanical observance of the artificial divisions—prologue, narration, argument, epilogue and the rest—inculcated by the professors of Rhetoric. He departs from the line or order of argument which he himself foreshadows; he mixes narrative with argument, retort, rebuttal of calumny; appeals to passion or to patriotism interrupt logical demonstration; the march of exposition or entreaty is

broken by swift volleying question and answer ; he advances points or arguments, drops them, resumes and recombines them in fresh and unexpected contexts. His highest flights or his intensest moods do not forbid the introduction of an all but vulgarly effective phrase or metaphor. No style could appear to be more untrammelled. But *summa ars celare artem*, and closer study reveals, what indeed it almost required the trained perceptions of Greek critics and rhetoricians to detect and analyse, that the whole is a product of the most consummate art ; that not only the employment of figures—assonance, alliteration, iteration, asyndeton, apostrophe—and the collocation of words, but the technical observance of hiatus between words, of opening and closing rhythms, of balance of rhythms within each clause or member of a clause, are subjected to laws not less exacting than those of complicated systems of metre. No detail of workmanship is unimportant. In the very crisis of their own and of their country's destinies Demosthenes, most pertinent and business-like of orators, can criticise diction, rhythm, delivery, pronunciation of his great rival, and never in the concentration of his most terrific earnestness does he forget the presence of his audience, or his allegiance to the sovereignty of Art. This was the orator who, as story goes, immured himself in subterranean chambers, or declaimed against the shingly surf, or practised speaking with pebbles in his mouth, who grew lean with abstemious diet and the midnight oil, and with his own hands eight times transcribed Thucydides. Such were the disciplines requisite to attain the franchise of Demosthenes.

To such developments as these the atmosphere of political freedom was an indispensable condition. If we leave Homer and the Aeolian lyric out of count, Athens

the freest community of Greece was the birthplace or the home of all the finest literary products of Greek genius. The claim of Pericles was just, that by abolition of privilege and all artificial exclusions and restrictions, by a free field for merit, by respect for civic law, and by the relaxations, and refinements that help to banish melancholy, Athens made good her title to be 'the School of Hellas.' And therefore when constitutional liberty was laid low, the flowers of freedom in thought and art fell with it. And the very concentration of their free energies at Athens, made Chæroneia the deathblow of much more than the political liberty of a single state. Philosophy of a scholastic kind survived, and criticism and skilled traditional technique in many forms of manual skill, but the creative energies of statesmanship, of literature, and of art, succumbed.

Freedom so realised admits of analysis into respect for reason and sense of proportion.

Belief in reason and use of reason are distinguishing attributes of Greece. Other Western nations before them had observed, and even made good use of their observations, but had never seriously or continuously pushed observation on into abstract generalisations or to investigation of ulterior causes. They took things for granted. To observe, to accept, to use, to experience was sufficient: to explain, much more to co-ordinate, was superfluous. They lacked the intellectual curiosity and the gift of mental abstraction, that puts the question why and desires coherent explanations. It marked a new era in civilisation, when first the Greeks began to think seriously and to attach value to the results of thought. The process begins not unnaturally with human conduct and experience, and the first thinkers of Greece are their so-called Wise Men and Gnostic poets, who began to construct a

Proverbial Philosophy of life in ethical precepts and reflections, and in didactic verse or epigram or apophthegm to render morality for the first time explicit in thought. Injunctions 'to avoid extremes,' 'to shun evil communications,' 'to mistrust fortune,' 'to marry in one's own degree,' 'to prize understanding'; warnings that 'punishment dogs sin,' that good government is found 'where the people obey the rulers, and the rulers obey the laws,' that 'justice contains all virtue'; reflections upon the mutability of fortune, on the ills of poverty, on the ugliness of old age, disease and death, have lost now the freshness and pregnancy with which at their first utterance they impressed the imagination. But the intellectual activity which they denote soon extended from problems of life and character to the problems suggested by the outer world. It occurs to the Greek mind that the world of things is intelligible, that phenomena have rational causes and meanings, and that those causes and meanings are worth finding out. The Ionian School of natural philosophy begins, and boldly sets itself to solve the riddle of phenomena. The actual results attained were necessarily for the most part worthless, but the process of attainment was worth everything.

In considering the achievements of the early philosophers, the most obvious and superficial characteristic that we note is the daring independence of their thought—positively, in the invention of hypotheses, negatively, in the rejection of current prejudices and modes of thought. Dogma and priestcraft at no time gained much hold on Greek intelligence, but never have widespread popular beliefs and superstitions been more unceremoniously thrust aside. Xenophanes rudely brushes away the whole fabric of polytheistic anthropomorphism. 'Mortals think the Gods are born as they are, and have senses like theirs, and

voice and form; yes, and if oxen or lions had hands, and could paint with their hands like men, horses would paint the forms of gods like horses, and oxen like oxen. So the Ethiopians make their gods black and flat-nosed, and the Thracians give theirs red hair and blue eyes.' Heraclitus makes open mock of rites, and lustrations, and sacrifices of blood, and identifies God with the finest form of matter—fire. 'It is not possible for us,' writes Empedocles, 'to set God before our eyes or to lay hold of him with our hands, which is the broadest way of persuasion that leads into the heart of man. For he is not furnished with a human head on his body, two branches do not sprout from his shoulders, he has no feet, no swift knees, nor hairy parts; but he is only a sacred and unutterable mind floating through the whole world with rapid thoughts.' And their courage in constructive hypothesis may seem more striking still. Some taught that heaven was a crystalline sphere, some explained the stars as discs floating in the air, others as fixed bosses on a revolving vault, others as rents in a moving canopy, others as fiery bodies renewed each night, and moving in continuous parallels above our heads. To ridicule false guesses of the kind is cheap and undiscerning. We are in possession—most of us on blind trust and hearsay—of sounder explanations: but the seeming absurdity is really a gauge of the originality of mental effort required to formulate these hypotheses. To infant science it was quite as creditable to guess that the earth was like a tilted table-slab, or like an upright cylinder, or based on adamant, or floating upon water, and to advance reasons in favour of the guess, as to teach that it was a self-orbed sphere revolving about its own centre. 'All are free to guess,' wrote Xenophanes—but how few, before the Greeks, had either the courage or the wit, or ventured with Socrates 'to follow the argument

whithersoever it leads!’ As a matter of fact, considering the resources at disposal, it was no small achievement to discover the obliquity of the ecliptic, to reach an approximately correct explanation of the phenomena of eclipse, to arrive at an atomic theory of molecules and matter, and to establish the main principles of geometrical mensuration.

But it is of more importance to notice how directly and well Greek thinkers went to their point. That the development of Greek philosophy is so orderly and sound and rapid, is due to the admirable directness of their questions, and their open-mindedness in discussion of proposed solutions. Abandoning myth and story-telling, the inquiries of Miletus propounded the straightforward question, in reality the most profound of all, and which the centuries have not yet answered, What are things, here, and now? What is the world made of? Water, answered Thales, in various stages of condensation and rarefaction: vapour, or air, said Anaximenes; stuff, a substrate infinite and indefinable, said Anaximandros; the four elements, said Empedocles; elemental atoms, said Democritus—and each answer was heard, tested, dismissed or modified, as reason prescribed.

More remarkable still than this lucidity and candour of intelligence, is the Greek belief in the validity of Dialectic. Not only observed facts arrested and commanded their attention, but also processes of reasoning. They pushed verbal axioms like ‘What is, is,’ or postulates such as ‘Nothing comes out of nothing, nothing passes into nothing,’ to their ultimate conclusions. Hardly had the Ionic physicists finished their scrutiny of the material of primary Being, when Heraclitus turns their whole position by the profound reflection that no such thing as stable Being anywhere exists, nothing but continuous Becoming; and in the flux of ever-moving successions, every possi-

bility of firm apprehension threatened to disappear. Thereupon ensued a yet more audacious venture of Dialectic, that of the so-called Eleatic School. Accepting the reasoning of Heraclitus, they allowed that the search for an ultimate material unity was vain, nay, went further than Heraclitus himself in declining to accept that fluid volatile substratum of material things which he called Fire. The unity implied by nature could not be material and transformative at all, but rather a formative essence commensurate with the sum of Nature, concealed behind these delusive and non-existent successions of material change. Thereupon the difficulties raised by the phenomenal co-existence of the Many and the One in their manifold ramifications, the logical antinomies involved by assuming the finite or the infinite extension of Space, the finite or the infinite divisibility of Matter, were tracked out with curious subtlety, and when fairly understood—here lies the testimony to the veracity and force of the Greek intellect—were not just shelved, ignored, and left unanswered, but by the best leaders of thought were owned to be fatal to the theory of material monism as an adequate explanation of the Universe of which we are a part. Thus, starting from the evidence of sense, and asking the plain question—What is matter? the Greeks had been led on, by sheer fidelity to reason, to the seemingly irreconcilable and equally untenable antitheses—the Heraclitean, that with the weight of all the senses averred, ‘There is no true Being, but only Becoming, Motion, Multitude, which exclude the possibility of Knowing,’ and the Eleatic, that, resting on logic and defying sense, affirmed that this show of material becoming was a delusive semblance drawn by the senses across the eternal, changeless, and abiding One. Thus Sensation and Reason seemed at hopeless issue. But philosophy did not despair,

and some step towards reconciliation was found by the genius of Anaxagoras—Anaxagoras who came ‘speaking words of soberness after men that talked at random.’ If indeed Being is but Becoming, a manifestation of unceasing Motion, what is it that initiates or maintains the motion? and on the analogy of consciousness he leaped to the conclusion that it was Mind; a mind necessarily transcending the individual human mind as much as the whole order of nature transcends a single man. ‘All things were in confusion, till Mind set all in order.’ Thus he reached, however imperfectly, the thought of mind as an efficient cause, such as might, when rightly developed, satisfy the logical claims of the Eleatic One. It remained for the metaphysic of Plato to grasp and to expound the thought of immaterial existence, and, distinguishing perception and thought, to reconcile the Many and the One, and to ascend from the unreality of material phenomena to a science of true being.

Having thus outlined the sure and orderly development secured to Greek speculation by faithful following of reason, we may note how here, too, as in their quest after political freedom, the balance was justly struck between authority and independence. Amid rapid and often revolutionary advance, we meet with constant proofs of the formation and conservation of continuous schools or traditions of doctrine, which, while assimilating new speculations and discoveries, retain with care and reverence the true deposit of knowledge handed down to them by some honoured master, Thales, or Pythagoras, or Heraclitus, or Parmenides. Authority and dogma were not allowed to stifle new advance, but neither was there reckless lust for innovation. This was the temper that in later days gave strength and continuity to the great schools of philosophy, Stoic, Epicurean, or Academic, which finds its most

perfect embodiment in the relation of Plato to Socrates, and characteristic expression in the proverbial *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas*, of his greatest pupil.

But the Greeks were not content to exercise reason in the sphere of speculation only. It would be pertinent to show, if it lay more within our compass, how in art likewise the infusion of Reason gave to Greek Art, conspicuously that of sculpture, its unique quality of Ideality. It was this which lifted it out of the order of symbolical, or decorative, or imitative, or realistic art, into the higher sphere of *expressive* art, whereby colour, or stone, or bronze, were used, not merely to reproduce nature—for at that rate, as Plato puts it, the craftsman's work is imitation three times removed from truth, being but a semblance of the semblances of the divine reality—but rather to express in some ideal form the perfected *ensemble* which the artist's thought has shaped out of the fragmentary and imperfect suggestions through which nature reveals something behind and beyond her actual performances. This discernment of the universal, this extraction of the type from the confused crowd of the particulars, is the essence of Idealism, and it was achieved in art no less than in philosophy by the play of reason.

But it is important to observe how the Greeks applied reason not to thought only or to sense, but to the conduct of life. Pericles claims it for a distinguishing trait of the Athenians, that 'Debate, we hold, does not mar action.' And in keeping with this dictum, we find that at least during the palmiest days of Greece, there was no disposition to enforce that antithesis between the practical and the intellectual, which to day hardly requires so much as individual verification. The 'Seven Sages'—though indeed there were more than seven—earned their distinc-

tion by shrewdness of practical insight, and most of them, like Solon of Athens, played their part as legislators or leading politicians. And the same will hold good of many, it would probably be within the truth to say of most, of the great thinkers and writers of Greece. Thales of Miletus urges federation upon the Ionian Greeks; Heraclitus is of kingly blood and offered the first magistracy of his native town; Zeno heads successful revolution at Elea; the Pythagoreans probably in their master's lifetime hold the supreme power at Croton. These are but sample instances of many, and in the story of Athenian culture it needs not to recall the names of Æschylus, Sophocles, Pericles, Thucydides, and Plato himself, to remind us that intellectual ascendancy went with birth and station, and was a credential rather than a disqualification for high employment in the State.

But whatever be the case with this appreciation of individuals, which would quickly engage us in disputable issues, there remains the far larger and more notable fact that reason was brought to bear on practice for the determination of conduct and guidance of life. Among the highest services of Hellenism to mankind must be included the conscious introduction of reason into the domain of morals. Rational ethics are the creation of Greece, and the Greeks themselves are certainly the most highly moralised among the pre-Christian races of the West. Implicitly Homer contains a rich and noble ethical vein, though not yet separated out by processes of intellectual generalisation. But from the time when Greek thought becomes self-conscious, and first utters itself as we have seen in moral apophthegms of wise men and poetised reflections upon life, we cannot take up any branch of Greek Literature without being struck by the prominence of ethical intention, that animates and not seldom domi-

nates it. In Herodotus for instance, so far as instinct for free enquiry and honest presentation has allowed personal bias to mould the treatment of his narrative, we should not lay our finger upon political or even Pan-Hellenic partiality, but rather on his desire to make all history, whether of individuals, or of states, or empires, an illustration of his favourite doctrine of Nemesis. And even in writers so severely intellectualised as Thucydides or Demosthenes, it is the felt substratum of ethical conviction that gives to either style that dignified austerity, and that strangely impassionate restraint, by which they impress emotion and imagination with a spell peculiarly their own.

But in poetry, ethical motive lies more upon the surface, and is indeed a characteristic note of the classical period of Greece. Preponderance of the didactic vein may even be charged against it as a blemish, and so instinctive was the demand for it, that Plato, in his judgments upon poetry, just as in his judgments on statesmen or on teachers, assumes that the criterion of value is primarily moral, not æsthetic. The theory of Art for Art's sake, of 'delight the chief if not the only end,' is not applied to poetry before Aristotle. No reader of Pindar can fail to perceive that ethical intention is a potent ingredient in his highest inspirations, and that this moral office of the poet reflects a conscious and even insistent demand of his employers for that mode and direction of appeal.

The Pindaric Epinikia are songs of praise, ever jubilant with *Glory to God in the highest*, in which the toil and trial and triumph of the victor of a day are tuned to higher issues and reflect the destinies of cities and heroes and sons of gods. The familiar themes of Greek morality, that wisdom is given of God, that virtue lies in measure and self-control, for 'neither by wise nor unwise may the pillars of Herakles be passed,' nor 'the brazen heaven be

climbed,' that surfeit of prosperity breeds deadly progeny of pride and ruin, attain in his Odes new music and new majesty, and nowhere have intimations of immortality surmised a Paradise more radiantly serene. 'Ever in sunlight night and day an unlaborious life the good receive, . . . where round the islands of the blessed the Ocean-breezes blow, and golden flowers are glowing some from the land on trees of splendour, and some the water feedeth, with wreaths whereof they entwine their hands.' . . . 'For them shineth below the strength of the sun while in our world it is night, and the space of crimson-flowered meadows before their city is full of the shade of frankincense-trees, and of fruits of gold. And some in horses, and in bodily feats, and some in dice, and some in harp-playing have delight; and among them thriveth all fair-flowering bliss; and fragrance streameth ever through the lovely land as they mingle incense of every kind upon the altars of the gods.' With such nobility of form does the acme of Greek lyric art take shape about the acme of Greek festal life. The English nation too, above all others since the Greek, has pride and pleasure in athletic prowess. But it is a melancholy comment on the capabilities of national ethos, to compare the inspirations and associations evoked by Olympia and Nemea with the ethical and literary suggestions that haunt the English race-course and the ring.

Of Tragedy, the most typical and complete expression of Greek thought on the poetic side, it is enough to say that nowhere in the history of literature has any great and continuous *corpus* of poetry maintained itself at the same height of ethical elevation and motive. Æschylus is hardly less prophet than poet in his enunciation of the moral majesty of God, of the divine order of the universe, of the theocratic government of nations, of the unalterable

moral sequences that attach suffering to sin, retribution to pride, atonement to perfected obedience, and all eventual victory to righteousness.

'Tis Zeus alone who shows the perfect way
Of knowledge: he hath ruled
Man shall learn wisdom, by affliction schooled.

And as Æschylus is half prophet, so does Euripides become half sophist in the analytic refinement of his search into motive, and conflicting obligation, and all the more subtle problems of moral casuistry. The point is indeed too obvious to labour, and a by-evidence of it may be preferable to direct illustration. I allude to the ethical bias of Greek thought in poetic treatment of nature. That æsthetic appreciation of natural beauty, which we chiefly associate with 'love of nature,' finds but rare expression. Physical delight in nature, that is to say, the exhilarating sense of joyousness, and light and movement, and exuberance of life, such as suffuse the Idylls of Theocritus with their warm Sicilian glow, is common enough. But more frequent still, and more characteristic, are such ethical appeals to nature, as the invocation of the solitary tortured Titan:—

O holy Aether, and swift-winged Winds,
And River-wells, and laughter innumerable
Of yon sea-waves! Earth, mother of us all,
And all-viewing cyclic Sun, I cry on you,—
Behold me a god, what I endure from gods!

or the dying charge of Ajax to the sun:—

O thou that chariotest the steeps of Heaven,
When on my native land falls next thy gaze,
Awhile, O Sun-God, draw thy golden rein,
And tell the old man, my father—let him know,
And my sad mother, my sufferings and my death.

or the wistful farewells of Antigone, as she passes to her prison tomb:—or the Pythagorean injunction ‘every morning to lift our eyes to heaven, to meditate upon the heavenly bodies pursuing their everlasting round, and to behold their purity and nakedness. For no star wears a veil.’

But it is to philosophy that we turn naturally for more systematic representation of ethical interest. And in that field it may be said with literal truth that Greek philosophy begins and ends in ethics. The *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, which found its final formulation in Aristotle’s doctrine of the mean, dates back to Pittacus, and the pregnant far-reaching declaration—*ἦθος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων*—‘Character is destiny,’ was pronounced by Heraclitus. Indeed from the very beginnings of philosophy, from the days of Pythagoras in the sixth century, philosophy, in the eye both of friend and foe, was regarded as a way of life even more than as a body of intellectual doctrine. It was but a partial episode in the history of Greek thought, when the Ionian philosophers centralised attention upon the physical side of nature, and even they in no sense treated morals with silence or indifference. Their tendency is rather to intrude moral ideas, such as Love and Hate, into the explanation of material phenomena, and to extort from nature ethical interpretations. Upon the transference of intellectual interest to Athens as its centre, the Sophists interested and fascinated their contemporaries at least as much by moral apologues, such as the Choice of Herakles by Prodicus, and by their professions of inculcating and imparting virtue, as by any intellectual brilliance and readiness which they possessed, and the failure to make good their ethical pretensions proved their discomfiture. From the days of Socrates at least the fact stands out beyond all question. Abandoning other lines

of enquiry, which for the time being promised no sure or trustworthy result, and 'drawing down philosophy from heaven to earth,' he reverted to the old motto of the oracle at Delphi, that 'Know thyself,' which a tragic couplet declares to be within the competence of Zeus alone,* and making that the watchword of his philosophy, determined that for centuries even logic, physics and metaphysics should run in channels marked out by the demands of ethics. This was the field which thereafter exercised the paramount and guiding activities of philosophy, which alone continued in Stoic and Epicurean hands to stimulate its failing powers, and which finally absorbed its exclusive interest and energies, until it yielded to the advent of new forces from without. But even in anticipating and recognising its eventual displacement, it is hardly too much to say that just as the Greek language was the prepared vehicle for Christian theology, so was Greek Ethos the soil prepared for Christian morality. The centres of early Christian life as well as early Christian thought are conspicuously the centres of Greek culture, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Byzantium, and even at Rome itself there is good reason to believe that infant Christianity found its freest welcome among Greek members of that cosmopolitan community. From the gradual detachment and disengagement of Greek elements, that resulted from the severance of East and West and the eventual disintegration of the Roman Empire, Latin Christianity fell into not a few of those one-sided and partial expressions of morality, which correspond to the shortcomings and crudities of Latin theology when deprived of the tempering influences of Greek thought. In morals, Asceticism,

* τὸ γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, τοῦτ' ἔπος μὲν οὐ μέγα.
ἔργον δ', ὅσον Ζεὺς μόνος ἐπίσταται θεῶν.

Papal Supremacy, the Inquisition, are counterparts to Jerome, Cyprian, Tertullian in theology.

Be this as it may, and not to wander into vain digressions, it is incontestable that the highest affirmations of Pagan Ethics meet us on the pages of Greek philosophers. To find the high-water mark of reasoned ethics, we turn to the moral paradoxes of the *Gorgias*, that to be wronged is a lesser evil than to wrong, that to suffer for well-doing is better than for evil doing, that misery lies in the avoidance not in the endurance of just punishment, and that to the hardened criminal death is the one mitigation of his evil case, 'an immortality of wickedness'; or we reperuse in the *Republic* the ideal of suffering virtue, and learn the proved felicity of the just man, maligned and misconceived, who after being scourged, racked, bound, is at the last, after suffering every kind of evil, crucified; or, once again, to find the crowning record of Pagan fortitude, the transcript of a life sustained in virtuous endeavour by resolute and unassisted sense of duty, we take in hand the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius. It is strange that moral indifference should have been imputed to the Greeks, in face of Prometheus and Antigone, in face of Socrates and Plato, in face of Cynic and of Stoic, in face of their high conception of the State and the obligations it imposed upon the individual, in face of the inculcation of the doctrine that virtue is the basis of state, or of utterances such as this—to take but one of hundreds—'God is the natural and worthy object of our most serious and blessed endeavours, for man is made to be the plaything of God, and this truly considered is the best of him; wherefore every man and woman should walk seriously, and pass life in the noblest of pastimes.'

To suppose that the Greeks found or proclaimed final solutions for the problems of government, or philosophy,

or art, or ethics, would be irrational, but to imagine that the very creators of moral science, the subject to which they devoted a larger and more sustained output of intellectual energy than any other, were backward or obtuse in moral sense, and careless in moral deportment, is no less grave a misconception. It was a false inference, due to divergent methods of regarding life, and is fast yielding to fuller understanding. The secret springs of heredity we cannot penetrate ; but we are now able to perceive that born under happier stars, sequestered yet not isolated in their unique peninsula, inspired not hampered by quickening influences from the mightiest of old world civilisations, the Greek genius saw life in happier and more harmonious proportions, than harsher and unlovelier conditions, and barbarian outbreaks, and the colossus of empire, and Norseman blood, and physique of coarser grain, have allowed to the Latin, or the Teuton, or the Celt. Chiefly it is the identification of goodness with beauty that has brought the morality of Greece under suspicion. The identification is no doubt characteristic and fundamental. In Theognis it meets us in the chant of Muses and Graces descending from Olympus to bless the bridals of Cadmus and Harmonia.

‘What is good and fair
Shall ever be our care.’

Thus the burden of it rang:

‘That shall never be our care
Which is neither good nor fair.’

Such were the words your lips immortal sang.

And so in the developed teaching of Plato the Idea of Good becomes one with that of Beauty and of Being itself, and even on earth the virtuous soul may penetrate ‘through beauty of person to beauty of soul, and thence to beauty of laws and institutions and sciences, till drawing towards the

sea of beauty, and growing and waxing strong, it at last attains the beatific vision of a single science, which is the science of beauty everywhere.' So again in the great Phædrus myth, the winged souls, who still enjoy the mysteries of innocence, and are unaware as yet of evil and imprisoning flesh, who follow in well-poised chariots the train of Zeus and the blessed Gods, and above the heavens behold apparitions innocent, and simple, and calm, and happy, such as no earthly poet has fitly sung or will ever sing, there as the revelation of beauty shining in brightness contemplate the regions of pure mind, and see face to face the essential forms of justice, temperance and knowledge, and are admitted to communion with the life of Gods. In presence of such passages we realise that the misunderstanding lies upon our side, and recognise how lagging and perverted is the assumption that because virtue is not felt antithetical to beauty or to nature, it is therefore not adequately prized. Rather in setting forth the unity and indivisibility of virtue, and the unification of virtue with beauty and with knowledge and with happiness, the Greek has caught a harmony, of which the ages will at last convince the world, and the refusal of which, however earnestly espoused and preached by ascetic or by puritan, is at bottom Manichean and destined to disappear. Slowly and surely, and by disciplines and preparations not wholly dissimilar to those by which Greece won her way upward, modern thought with deeper experience and power is refinding Greek belief in the unity and goodness of nature, and in the life ordered after nature, as the progressive revelation of God.

Adhering to our primary concern, exchange of thought on Literature and Philosophy, I have singled out and tried to illustrate one or two traits only of the Greek genius.

Of grace, of symmetry, of firmness joined to flexibility, of plastic purity of form, of the exquisite urbanity that clothes its best expressions, I have said almost nothing—but I end as I began. If power of inspiration still now, as in the past, belongs to Greece, it lies in the communication of a temper, not in the copy of results. It is their own article of faith. ‘A good Athenian is more than ordinarily good, because he is inspired by nature and not manufactured by law.’ And indeed none more needs to urge this plea than a student of literature, an educationalist, a Professor of Greek. The bias of Greek study was for science. Mathematics, mechanics, physics, medicine, astronomy, biology, were mainly their creation: *μηδεις ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω*, ‘without geometry let no man enter in’ was the password of the academy of Plato, and the one aptitude in which Greeks showed themselves dull and deficient, was Linguistic. A strange language was in their ears the twittering of birds, and all who could not speak Greek were ‘barbarians.’ ‘If the gods spoke, they used the tongue of Greece.’ As linguists less ready even than the English, they, like us, imposed their language on all nations. Greece of the best days possessed no written literature and studied none; perhaps for that reason they created the noblest that the world has seen. In education their aims, their thoughts, their methods were wholly at variance with our own. But I think we may feel sure that the Greek genius would not look coldly on study of Greek, nor ever regard education as a branch of the art of chrematistic.

REFORM AND RESTORATION OF OFFENDERS.

BY THE REV. F. BONTE.

1. *Struggle for good.*—A generation or two ago the belief still obtained generally that all things had been brought into being in a week, and that man had been set perfect on the earth. Science has now popularised the idea of a growth from primitive organisms into ever perfecting forms of existence, and of a parallel development in ethics from the savage into the civilised state. The upward movement in the moral sphere has not been less marked than in the physical. Eons had passed before the alphabet came into use. Morals were unknown before men coalesced into tribes. An irresistible destiny is ever at work driving the human family towards perfection, the germs of which are beginning to shew even in dark Africa. The race is ever straining, though unconsciously, after a higher state, in the pursuit of which it has to wage a ceaseless combat with an adverse power. Theology teaches that man is fallen, inoculated with the virus of his first sire, who dared to aspire after knowledge. Science holds that he still bears in his aims and acts the traces of a lowly origin and of brute ancestral instincts. Virtue is a struggle against Vice, as Life is a struggle against Death. Pain and sorrow are but incidents in this strife, sentinels and safeguards of life and virtue. The spectacle of this contest is presented to us at every stage of the world's history. Philosophers, legislators, religious founders have all been leaders in this conflict. Moses,

Buddha, Zoroaster, Socrates, Christ, Mahomet, St. Francis of Assisi, Luther, Loyola, Wesley were each and all reformers and champions of human well-being. As the world advances and improves, this straining after betterment grows in intensity; and of our age, it may be said without presumption, that at no time of the world's history has such a keen and widespread interest been taken in promoting the amelioration of man's condition. Yet, despite the keenness of the struggle, the source of human sin and sorrow abides. Man's inherited instincts, his inborn greed and cruelty, continue to thwart his efforts, and strive to regain the ascendant. This struggle, which seems a necessary condition of our development, tries us so severely that none escape the ordeal quite unscathed. Success is never but partial. All fail in the conflict; all, in some degree, are offenders. But it is not in this broad and universal sense that we view the subject this evening. The only offenders we take into consideration, are those who have been so far worsted in the conflict as to have lost self-respect, together with the regard of respectable society, and who, for the most part are, or occasionally find themselves, in prison.

2. *Reform and Restoration.*—And our question regarding them is not whether their reform is possible; we have sufficient optimism in us to take that for granted, notwithstanding some few ne'er-do-wells—moral imbeciles perhaps; but how may their reform and restoration be effected. What is their condition, and how may it be remedied? They are wrecked, and have to undergo repairs; they are stranded, and have to be refloated. Internally, they are demoralised; their thoughts, their plans, their hopes, are all in confusion. They are out of joint with the world and with their friends; they are

vexed with themselves at their fall. First then, order has to be put in this moral and mental chaos, light and peace have to be brought in the dark and troubled mind, and a reasoned hope in the depressed heart. Secondly, they have to be reinstated. Most or all the ties that bound them to the world are snapped, their situation lost, their name tarnished or gone, their friends and relatives scared, the face of everything is turned against them. All this is to be reversed ere they can be reinstated in their pristine condition.

3. *Disregard of self the cause of moral failures.*—Before enquiring how a damage is to be repaired, it behoves us to know its origin and character. Knowledge of the disease is half the healing. Last session, in a paper on Prisons, inquiring into the origin of crime, after describing various contributory causes, I traced vice to its ultimate origin and said: absence of self-regard, of well-regulated self-love, is the first spring of crime. This conclusion may at first sight seem novel and ill-founded, but a little reflection will convince you of its soundness. It is a self-evident proposition, that we preserve whatever we have a regard for. If we have a regard for our honour, our health, our position our goods, we shall save them from harm; and our diligence in doing so will be proportioned to our regard. He who wastes his goods, wrecks his health, tarnishes his honour, forfeits his position, shows thereby that he lacks regard for those interests, otherwise he would not expose them to ravage. I am aware that moral failures are often imputed to other causes, to neglect of work, sloth, gambling, intemperance, lust. But these are only secondary causes. He who regards himself, who loves himself wisely, will *not* idle, or gamble, or revel, but will guard himself against all danger, and use every precaution

against shipwreck. Disregard of self is then the root cause of moral failures. It spells havoc and downfall to the individual as well as to the community. He who neglects to wisely regard his interests is on the down grade, on the broad road that leads to ruth and ruin.

4. *Regard for self, for temporal interests, the remedy.*—

Such is the disease. How is it to be cured? How are the offenders to be corrected and restored? Various answers will no doubt be in your minds: by punishment, by religious influences, by gentle treatment, by industrial employment. Were I to insist on these well-known correctives I should tell a thrice-told story. My desire is to present the subject in a new aspect. As I hold disregard of self to be the spring of moral failures, I must in all consistency set down self-regard, selfism, well regulated self-love as the remedy for the disease. This position, though strange at first blush, is easily made good. Inordinate self-esteem, according to the old and well-tried aphorism, is the spring of all evil. Then, conversely, it follows at once that well-ordered self-esteem is the spring of all good. This assertion is supported by the dictates of Christianity itself. The pages of the Gospel frequently uphold self-interest, the great reward in Heaven, as the main incentive to good works. And with the Gospel we find Utilitarianism to go hand in hand. The precept "Love your neighbour as yourself" is no whit different from the secular injunction: cultivate an enlightened selfism, be useful to others and they will be useful to you. Greek philosophy, proceeding on the same lines, taught likewise that virtue is the outcome of wisdom, that all vice is folly, that men are the martyrs of their own faults. Selfism or self-preservation is, in fact, the cardinal principle of all nature, as we see it even in plants and animals,

whose first object it is to strengthen and lengthen their existence; it is the principle of all life, development, and progress. Let it not be objected that self-love is a deadly vice, and that many come to grief through self-indulgence. This is at once granted; for, unfortunately, "noblest things find vilest using," and self-love will be as fatal when ill-directed as it will be vital when well-directed. Self-interest is then a sound ethical basis to work upon. But I will go a step further, and maintain that the interests whose regard is to act as the panacea for the ills of offenders and the palladium of their security are not the spiritual interests but the temporal, the tangible, the visible. These motives, albeit inferior in themselves, are more effective than spiritual as incentives to virtue and as agents to keep offenders in the right path or recall them to it. This conviction has not come upon me of late or by accident, but is the growth of time. It grew upon me insensibly during the twenty-four years of my service in Kirkdale Prison. Day after day I instructed the prisoners in chapel and visited them in their cells. At first the labour was performed irreflectively and on the stereotyped lines of tradition. As I had learnt my lessons at school so I now delivered them mechanically. Implicit and entire reliance was placed on the efficacy of instruction in the rudiments of religion and the performance of certain religious rites. This done the man was thought to be safe. But as years rolled on and reflection ripened, and results were observed, this reliance on religious influences greatly lessened, while trust in the efficacy of temporal motives grew proportionately. Observation showed that invisible objects, the rewards of a future life, often touched them but little, while the threat of eternal punishment, ever ready in some mouths and so glibly launched, seemed as cruel against those who were suffering so much for their

follies, as it proved barren and disappointing.* The fear of very distant consequences is often but a card-board barrier against the rush of strong desire. And if they are little affected by their relation to the Unseen still less are they touched by their obligations to their neighbours, excepting the pain or pleasure they may cause to their relatives. But very different is the case when their own interests are brought into view, when present and immediate objects are shown to be at stake. Then they awaken, they listen, they are interested, a new light dawns upon them and fresh hopes spring up. The prospect of being restored to their pristine condition, of being again respectable and respected, of regular employment with a happy and interesting home often operates with magic effect where higher motives had failed. The inferences derivable from these observed results grew upon me and ripened into the conviction that offenders had come to grief not so much because they were unversed in the tenets of their religion or neglected its rites, nor even through lust or intemperance, but because they had been dead to their interests, insensible to the springs of their own happiness.

5. *Effect of temporal interests on all.*—To be further convinced of the overmastering influence of mundane objects we have only to observe how deeply they affect not only the fallen but also the unfallen and the pious. Is there not on every side a keen competition for life, for

* Since this was written it has received most opportune support from Dr. Mivart's article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "Happiness in Hell." This eminent catholic writer sets forth that even for the worst in hell there is real and true happiness; existence is acceptable; and eternal progress possible. If such be the fact, hellfire is a sheer bugbear, and it is hard to see how *post-mortem* torments can be brought into service honestly as motives of conduct.

wealth, for distinction? Disgrace before the world seems far more dreaded than disgrace before the Unseen Power. To offend the Unseen is a grave matter enough, but it is expiated by a pious movement or a religious rite, while falling into the hands of the police and appearing before a court is an overwhelming and irreparable disaster. So potent is the attraction of the world that even the religious cling to it with tenacity. If sickness puts their life in the balance they evince no desire to migrate to higher regions, but by all the resources of medicine and nursing they strive their utmost to keep out of heaven as long as possible, and to obtain a prolongation of penal servitude in the prison of this miserable world. It is related that the servant of a dying bishop endeavoured to comfort his master by saying that he was going to a better place. In feeble accents came the reply: "John, there is no place like old England." So potent is the charm of sublunary objects. Good old England rather than the unexplored region beyond. Some one has even twitted this attachment to temporals by saying that Christendom is but a baptised heathenism. Now if even the pious, whose merits are high and whose hopes of future bliss ought to be well grounded, manifest so little practical faith in religious sanctions and cling so desperately to this life, is it any exaggeration to assert that visible objects affect men more powerfully than invisible? and does it not become a consequent duty to bring into operation for the rescue of the strayed those agencies which hold the affections of all men so fast? Nor can it be denied on the other hand, that religious influences frequently fail to effect desired results. After centuries of the paramount sway of religion in Europe, reformations were admittedly necessary, the Revolution in France was indispensable, and even now in England, where all men are reared under

the ægis of some church, and believe firmly in religious sanctions, a large portion of the nation is confessedly submerged, there is a "Darkest England," and Liverpool, religious city as it is, has been described, on good authority, as "a swamp of foetid immorality and degradation," albeit not worse perhaps than other large cities.

6. *Temporal interests neglected and despised in the past.*—Heretofore, temporal incentives to virtue have been all too much neglected. They have been over-looked or set aside, while motives of less weight have been urged and relied upon. Unctuous phrases and far distant promises have been dinned into ears that needed present and rougher stimulants. If a man does not live by bread alone, he lives very much by bread; and tangible bread is often a better bait to bring the lapsed back to honesty than intangible; earthly interests can be turned into stepping-stones to raise the fallen out of the abyss, lift them into decent society, and support them amidst the worries and disappointments of life. But temporal objects have not only been ignored, they have been slighted or despised. The prospective possession of a kingdom in another world has been held up to the believer as the be-all and the end-all, while this world was looked down upon with contempt, nay, worse, was considered as only a place of exile, and lying under a curse. Itself, and all it held out to man, wealth, station, health, life itself, were viewed with suspicion, as fraught with danger. He was considered worthy of all praise who turned his back upon the world and went to spend his existence in a cave or a desert, or to live as a mendicant, and strange to all the joys of social intercourse. Innumerable anchorites have deemed it wiser to leave the world than to leaven it. Stylites, troglodites, flagellants, have held this world and

their bodies in aversion. Macerations, flagellations, hair-shirts, are still in use; Moslems and Hindoo Yogis often push their zeal for self-imposed tortures to fanatical excess. Such austerities are now held up rather to admiration than to imitation. But it need not surprise us that they were so common in the past. It was natural to yearn after another world when the present was so comfortless and dark. The time came at last for this darkness to lift. During the last three or four centuries a deep change has insensibly crept over the christian nations. The re-awakening of art and letters, the invention of the printing press, various social reforms, the use of steam-power, photography, electricity, have gradually brought light, wealth, and comfort to the denizens of our planet. The world is no longer a vale of tears or an exile. The woe denounced against the rich is little heeded, and the mammon of iniquity is valued as the minister of comforts. Bodily vigour is no longer dreaded and starved out as an insidious foe, nor is our earthly life regarded as a penal wandering in a wilderness prior to entering a promised land, but as a precious possession, thrilling with countless springs of enjoyment, and altogether so desirable, that no well-balanced mind can be imagined to dislike it, and that they who prematurely put an end to it, are usually deemed to have been labouring under temporary insanity.

7. *Happiness attainable and dependent on virtue.*—The boon of existence, and the delights with which the world teems, have been celebrated by none more eloquently than by Sir John Lubbock. Impossible to peruse his two booklets on "The Pleasures of Life" without awakening to a keener sense of life's available joys, theretofore either unthought of or unappreciated. And my whole contention is that this relish of life, these pleasures of existence, are not

sufficiently recognised as incentives to virtue and sources of happiness. The conviction ought to be deep and widespread that life is a luxury, and that happiness, as the outcome of virtue, is, in that measure, attainable by all; that all who live in accord with nature's laws, who love honesty, justice, temperance, industry, truth, will be participants in life's banquet, while those who contravene the laws of nature, which, after all, are the laws of God, will forfeit the fruition of the feast and incur ejection into exterior darkness. Every well-poised mind should be clear of the pernicious idea that life is evil, that happiness is unattainable, difficulties unsurmountable, success impossible. A keen sense of the luxury of living is a wholesome sentiment, while discontent with life is a baneful disposition, which, when indulged, may sink the worth of life below zero, and end it by violence. It lies with each to make life happy; and the surest way to happiness is a well-ordered life. This assertion will, doubtless, be readily endorsed. But dare we go a step further, and affirm that a well-ordered life is not only the surest way to happiness, but also the only way? Dare we say, to put it plainly, that the wicked cannot have peace? That remorse always attends on crime? Probably not. The human heart may be insensible to generous feelings, and where there is no sense of wrong there can be no remorse. The proverb says that murder will out; but the dictum is not borne out by experience. All depends upon conscience, and conscience is more and more recognised to be a natural product, the outcome of inheritance, education, and surroundings. Red Indians measure their happiness by the number of scalps that adorn them, the head-hunters of Borneo by the number of heads they have cut off. I should not dare to say that the hero of Beauchamp's drama (*Les Fleurs du Mal*) is an impossibility.

The caitiff who has revelled in lust and fraud may still bask in the sunshine of happiness. But I would rather view such cases as anomalies. All have not the power of creating an artificial conscience, converting wrong into right; and experience shows that the steps of villany are usually dogged by a Nemesis. If we credit that, in a man like Deeming, the springs of happiness remain unpoisoned, we must take a low estimate of our civilisation, the main effect of which should be the creation of a healthy moral sense and a noble manhood.

8. *The minds of offenders to be righted by hope.*—The prospect of happiness, the temporal and immediate advantages of a well-ordered life are then, to my thinking, the best foundation on which the restoration of offenders may be set with the best prospect of success. But it may be asked will these motives operate with them? Do the offenders care for the world's prizes, comfort, position, self-respect, an interesting and happy home? Perhaps not in a high degree. Their appreciation of the feast of existence has not been cultivated or it has become blunted and deadened. Their mind is morally unhinged. Then comes in the duty of their well-wishers, of all educators, societies, organisations, that seek the amelioration of their lot, to awaken in them better and healthier sentiments, to instil in their minds a vivid consciousness of their capabilities for happiness, to raise their desires to a higher level, to pour the balm of a new hope into their seared and cankered hearts. No worse danger could beset them than despondency. Losing heart is a long way towards losing the battle. The best of men experience what power hope has to buoy them up in trouble, to carry them over desperate obstacles. Much more necessary will it be to foster a lively spirit in those who are so deep in the water,

so nearly submerged. This point is well apprehended by the people when in their visits or letters to prisoners, they never fail to enforce the admonition of "keeping their hearts up." They instinctively feel that a bright hope will inspirit them and be their stay in the hour of need. But what may this hope be built upon? Is there a reasonable foundation for it? The safest and most effective basis is the prospect of a new start in life. That is the tool for the reformer to work with, that is the chord for the charmer to play upon. Self is the dominant interest; and immediate objects operate more powerfully than distant. But when you urge upon the lapsed the possibility of doing well again, they often raise divers objections, the commonest and chief of which is that without a character no work can be got. If this representation is a genuine cry of distress and not a pretext, it is readily disposed of by the knowledge that common and rough employment to begin with will be available and will serve until an opportunity opens to rise to a better condition. The only thing needful is a willingness to rough it, and a fair stock of pluck to bear hardships for a while. Bringing home to their minds the possibility of retrieving the past will be the first step in their restoration.

9. *Their will to be braced by incentives and by the cultivation of character.*—The next step consists in confirming the will; and this constitutes the main difficulty. How can the will be strengthened to realise the hope which has been raised? "*Video meliora.*" I see better things and approve them, but follow worse, is an adage that has lost none of its force since it was uttered eighteen centuries ago. The praise and admiration of virtue is cheap and easy, but the will to execute flags and shirks.

The crux of the task consists in nerving the will. Where failure is, the fault, in its ultimate, lies with the will. Follow the evil up to its last entrenchment, and you must come to "I will not." Press the question, why don't you give up the drink, the loafing company, the idle rowdy gang; why don't you curb your temper, your lust, your sloth? After various subterfuges and allegations, the final word must come, albeit yourself have to put it in their mouth: "because you will not." This is the offenders' ultimatum. He will not. His will is at fault. And why is it that the will fails to perform its appointed work? How comes the man at the wheel of his ship to fail in his office? Because he is not adequately remunerated, because he has not sufficient interest to do his work. Awaken this interest, make it worth while for the will to operate, supply it with an adequate motive-power and the machine will function. If a man is blind enough, weak enough, fool enough to lean to the left we must enlighten him, influence him, attract him till he inclines to the right. Show him the possibility of rehabilitation, the rewards of virtue, health, peace, security, love of friends, and you have given him a lift towards restoration more potent than anything else can give. The motive is perhaps mercenary, but its venal character may well be disregarded if only it be found to act as a bias, as a bribe, if you like, causing him to lean over to the right side. The incentive is certainly not worse than that which causes an open plate to go round in a church instead of a bag. If shekels are successfully brought in by this simple device, why not use it also to bring back the offenders? Attachment to temporal objects, to creature comforts, is the weak side of most mortals, and why should not this propensity be utilised to wean the offenders from their sordid ways? This conviction on my part caused a gradual change in my manner of dealing

with prisoners. In the earlier years the argument often ran into a threat: if you won't change there is nothing for you but to go to—well, a place where there is no winter. But in later years this line of proceeding was little used, and stress was increasingly laid, both in public addresses and in private visits, on the immediate advantages attendant on a well-ordered life, and, it goes without saying, that this new plan of action was attended with gratifying results.

But are not the obstacles to reform insurmountable? are not the temptations too many and too strong for the feeble will, for the weakness of the tempted? Are the strays of society chargeable with all the odium of their lot? Is not society itself much to blame for the prevalence of squalor, loafing, and low-life? Have not the derelicts of society been sorely neglected,—exposed to snares and pitfalls,—supplied with facilities for self-destruction instead of incentives to self-respect? Have they not been heavily handicapped in the race of life by the vicinity of the glittering tavern? What results could be expected when such causes are in operation? What we sow, that we reap. A reversal of this course has now fairly begun. Earnest efforts are made to lessen the sinister influence of the death-dealing dram-shops, not so much by suppressing them, which seems opposed to the national love of freedom, but by creating counter attractions, antidotes to the poison. We see springing up on all sides, cocoa rooms, boys' institutes, working men's clubs and recreation rooms, people's palaces, entertainments, concerts, lectures, and other devices, all tending to withdraw the masses from their squalid haunts, to elevate their minds, and polish their manners. And the probability is that the recognition of these humanising influences will continue to develop and multiply as efficient

counteractives of the liquor palaces, and as refiners of the tastes and ways of the slum-dwellers. That is real education, leading the base out of meanness, squalor, rudeness, barbarism, into culture and refinement; that is, putting the bias on the right side, creating healthy desires, corrective of those pernicious propensities born with them or acquired in youth.

Another source of stability for the will is the cultivation of a strenuous character, of a spirit of self-reliance. As the mind is improved by thinking, the will is invigorated by willing. The frequent emission of resolves braces the will. Every good resolve tends to form those robust habits the sum of which constitutes character. The character, once formed, consolidates will-power in its turn, and develops that spirit of self-reliance which is the main-spring of man's success in life, and which it is so imperative to build up in the offenders. The craven spirit of reliance on extraneous aid, on perennial leading-strings, is ill-suited to carry a man through life's hard struggle. A society that relies on Providence will exert itself but little for its salvation; and the more an individual relies on others the less activity will he display. Reliance on others tends to vitiate the very spring of moral action, as reliance on alms is the death of industry. It may be very good to pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," but what will it avail the toiler if he goes not forth to work for it? It is all-important for him to be imbued with a sturdy spirit of self-reliance, and to be armed with good store of self-help. It should be impressed on him on all occasions that every man is the architect of his own fortune; that all things are possible to a willing mind; that nothing is done without labour and patience, and that where there is a will there is also a way. The lack of self-reliance is much felt in dealing with offenders. When I used to ask them, in

their own language, "to turn over a new leaf," they often answered, "Yes, with the help of God." Rather with your own help, was frequently the reply; help yourself, do your own work, turn yourself the leaf, you can if you will, only mean-spirited cravens rely on others to do their work. And after all, will others do your work for you? Will the help of God, or the favour of a saint, however powerful, tie your angry tongue, wrest the weapon from your vengeful grasp, eject you from the den of sin, bar the door of the tavern, dash the goblet from your hand? No; yourself are the chief agent in doing it. Reform is home-made, it is from within, it is a personal work, it is not done by proxy; at the root of all reform is self-control, and self-control must be exercised by self. If reform proceed not from within it is only skin-deep, it leaves the will flabby and the character feeble. Home-Rule may be fine for a nation, for a city, for a household, but the best home-rule is that by which a man rules himself, when his reason holds the reins firmly, and keeps his inordinate propensities in check. We often hear chanted the praises of self-made men. What is their secret? It is the willingness to bear patiently the labour and toil necessary to build up their own character, career and fortune. How urgent the need is of a large stock of will-power and self-reliance is but too evident when you think of the multitude of social wrecks. Virtue ruined, fortunes wasted, positions lost, households broken up—these proclaim eloquently how severe is the struggle for good. And who are the foes in this life-and-death wrestle? Are they some mysterious powers of darkness capable of influencing our minds and swaying our wills? Is the devil to be the convenient scapegoat for all this wreck and ruin? No, our foes are domestic. They are the lawless proclivities of our animal nature, thirst of

forbidden pleasure, lust of drink, fever of wealth, desire of pre-eminence, lust of revenge. These are the enemies lying in wait for their prey, these are the fiends that have to be combated and subdued. The current opinion that we are engaged in a ceaseless combat with an unseen power, that an evil personality is ever about us on its devouring raids, is often too much insisted on. Believers in it are cowed and unmanned by the dread of it. How are they to cope successfully with a dark ubiquitous power subtler and mightier than themselves, ever at their sides pouring its poison into their minds, baffling their intentions, thwarting their desires, marring their work? Is not the consciousness of a malignant mentor at their ear likely to paralyse their spirit of self-reliance, blunt their sense of individual culpability, and lead them to shift the guilt of their actions to the charge of the Evil One? Let me give an instance. John Conway, the last man I attended at the scaffold, was of a very superstitious disposition, and used to trace all his failures in life to the action of the devil. On different occasions when pressed with the question why he had committed his crime, why he wanted to see the awful sight, he would answer: "The devil made me;" and when I scouted the idea he insisted, saying, "Indeed not a ha'porth else." This happened several times. And while I was kneeling and praying with him in the waiting room prior to the execution he suddenly turned his head aside, and, with a violent wave of the left hand, exclaimed: "Go away, Devil!" Here, then, was a man under a deep impression that some malign Power was near him and was able to control his thoughts. I have also known a missionary who went about giving missions to children, and used to enforce his discourses by the exhibition of a painting representing a boy at whose ear was a hideous figure of a devil breathing fiery visions of evil into

his brain. Now I am tempted to question whether men or children are benefited by such dread impressions. Is it conducive to the formation of a moral sense, is it helpful in the building up of a staunch character, to indoctrinate them with these direful imaginings? Were it not better to teach them that the demon of drink, the demon of lust, the demon of hatred are within them, like the Kingdom of God? That the devils who devour men are their untamed desires? That there are indeed within man two antagonistic principles, good and evil, reason and passion, between whom implacable enmity rages, but that it is the function of reason to keep passion in subjection? That a serpent and his spawn are indeed coiled in wait seeking to bite man's heel and overthrow him, but that man has it in his power to crush the head of the serpent; that to master this fiend is the noblest of all conquests, grander than any achieved by Alexander or Cæsar, and whose guerdon is the highest of all empires—that of man's own heart.

10. *The young to be trained to meet a hard world, and do hard work.*—The formation of a sturdy character should be the chief aim of all education, formative and reformative. Stable, hardy habits are the best moral outfit for entering upon life's stormy journey. Complaint is sometimes made that children are brought up like hot-house plants, unable to face the open day. They are ill equipped to stand their ground in this age of perilous freedom. Weaklings are crushed out in a world of fierce competition. "The survival of the fittest" obtains in the moral as in the physical order. It is when young, and before putting out to sea on the anxious voyage of life, that the rising generation should be made acquainted with the character of that world they will soon have to face. They should not be encouraged to dream of a perfect world, a world of ease,

kindness, leisure. They should be prepared to rough it in a cold and unfeeling age, to work hard, to bear much, to be content with little. They should be armed with watchfulness and fortitude against the voice of the serpent, against evil visions, against alluring snares. If the young have not some idea of the world they are entering upon, they are likely to be taken by surprise when they come into actual contact with it, and may insensibly drift from their moorings, or be taken off their feet by the first fierce blast of temptation they encounter.

Another qualification required for facing the world and its labours is a larger stock of social training. It is not enough to make "unco guid" church-goers. "Religion," as it was lately said, "often neglects the living present in which its work of sweetening life should be done, and dwells on a meretricious future." Religion should enter into all man's interests. The words "religious" and "sacred" should have a broader application. "To labour is to pray." To bake and to cook, to make and to mend is religion. Whatever makes for man's well-being is sacred. "The welfare of the people is the supreme law." Social and domestic training should fill a high place in education. Domestic sanitation, household management, temperance, self-help, thrift, are subjects no less sacred than Hebrew patriarchs, judges, and kings. If religious knowledge saves for the next world, men have also to be saved in this. They need good food, clothing, housing, recreation, comfort. Is not much of the squalor and poverty of Liverpool due to the fact that the children of the lower classes are not brought up to a bread-winning occupation, are not taught self-respect, economy, cleanliness, frugality, industry, in a word, how to get on in the world? Poverty and crime are, by increasing consent, imputed mainly to drink, yet this master evil receives little atten-

tion in the school curriculum, while much time is devoted to ancient Hebrew history. If the young were armed with a deep conviction of the advantages of temperance, frugality, thrift, with a knowledge and relish of work and with steadfast habits, there would not be so many falling away; and if among men there obtained a staunch spirit of self-reliance and a sense of noble pride, there would not be so many homes desolated by intemperance, nor could there be much need of the total abstinence pledge, that last refuge of a feeble will. It behoves all educators to set up barriers against possible failures. "Prevention," says the musty proverb, "is better than cure." The task of restoring delinquents is very ungrateful, and indiscriminate repression of social evils is not the best method to produce durable results. As Mr. Tallack says of it in his book on *Penology*, it is like attempting to heal a cancer with sticking plaster.

It may not be amiss to mention here that proverbs might be brought with great advantage into more frequent use, as means of education. They have been called the hobnailed philosophy of the masses. Though the wit of only one, they are the wisdom of all, the voice of the people, and therefore the voice of God. No better texts could be to teach or preach from than such as these, on temperance: When the wine is in the wit is out. Wine has drowned more than the sea. On thrift: A fool and his money are soon parted. A penny saved is a penny got. On frugality: Waste not want not. Frugality is an estate. Feed sparingly and defy the physician. On industry: No gains without pains. Well begun is half done. What you sow that you reap. Idleness is the road to beggary. Industry is fortune's right hand and frugality her left.

11. *Restoration*.—The second part of our subject

needs but few words. It regards the restoration of offenders to a respectable position in the world. Discharged prisoners will, in many cases, when well-disposed and high-spirited, look to themselves. Often they are taken on again by their former employers, or are met and assisted by their relatives. Ordinary labourers will be sufficiently helped by some improvement in their wearing apparel along with board and lodging for a few days. There may also be some cases of a reckless and callous nature who show no disposition to amend, and on whom assistance would be thrown away. But, beyond all these, there will remain a class of men and women of good heart and will who are in dire need of help, destitute of all resource, friendless, homeless, workless. These may be effectually assisted by being placed in lodgings for a time, or by being taken into some shelter or home. English people are rather partial to this form of assistance. Some facetious Frenchman has bantered this propensity by saying that one half of England is ever busy putting the other half into institutions. But long experience has put the seal of its approval on the practice. These homes or shelters serve a great purpose. They tide their inmates over a critical juncture of their existence, they supply an indispensable help in a supreme emergency, they form an easy transition between the prison and the world, they bridge a gulf otherwise impassable; when every door is closed against them, there they find admission, are usefully employed, restore their character, and await the opportunity for returning to a place and occupation in the world. Two societies deal directly with discharged prisoners -- the Aid Society and the Prison Gate Mission. The latter has in Liverpool a shelter and workshop under its patronage, leaving thus no room for excuse to a relapsing offender.

12. *Secular character of the age.*—In concluding let me say that, if in treating my subject I have laid stress on secular incentives, my reason was that we were dealing with natures debased and unable to appreciate higher aims. I have tried to set forth that slum-dwellers are more successfully reached by tangible advantages than by creeds or altruism. And this after all is not taking up an exceptional position. It is often freely confessed that the trend of our age is secular. Of old, religious interests greatly predominated. Much treasure was spent upon building and decorating churches, often quite unnecessary, as may be seen in Italy. All was for the house of God, little for the house of man. Many still give a sum of money for a stained glass window in a church rather than for a Boys' Institute. But "Times change and we change with them." Now earthly interests receive more attention than of yore. Socialism is in the air and religion cannot escape feeling the current. Indeed the office of religion, as the salt of the earth, is to flavour the society in which it finds itself. With laudable appreciation of the advantages of opportunism, it adapts itself to the needs of the day and comes forth to guide the movements which it desires to control. It becomes the advocate of the workman's claim for better wages, greater comfort, more leisure, popular amusements, sanitary dwellings. The Pope himself insists that the remuneration of the wage-earner must be enough to support him in reasonable and frugal comfort. A century back the toilers had no defenders. They were kicked, now they are coddled. As Mr. Dickens describes in *A Tale of Two Cities*, they were no more considered than rats. Now the rats are king, and are courted. It was the custom to lull the toilers into the patient endurance of their lot by the promise that their sorrows should be turned into joys; a rich reversion

theirs ; slaving, sweat and starving give way to perennial rest and bliss. Grand and consoling as these prospects are, they fail to fully satisfy the present aspirations of the masses, who, without foregoing their hopes of a future world, demand as their supreme right a full measure of justice in this. Temporal objects, wages, leisure, comfort, stir to their greatest depths the toiling masses in all parts of the civilised world, and the same interests operate with like effect upon the castaways. Approach them with a chapter of the Bible by all means, tell them also of human brotherhood, but above all forget not to urge upon them the great personal and immediate issues they have at stake, all they forfeit by their follies ; they impair their health, shorten their life, wreck their prospects, lose their liberty and peace, dishonour themselves, disgrace their family, shame their religion, bring reproach on their country. And, since profit is as potent a determinant of conduct as loss, tell them, on the other hand, that if they will put down their foot boldly and set their whole hearts to defy the brood of evil, forthwith angels will come in plenty to minister to them : security, employment, a pleasant and interesting home, books to read, money in pocket and in bank, love of friends, all the hope and happiness that can cheer the heart of man. The thought of these will quicken their spirits, inspire them with new courage, set them on their feet once more, and prove the surest safeguard against relapse.

THE APPRECIATION OF MUSICAL SOUNDS.

By FRANCIS GOTCH, M.A., F.R.S.,

PROFESSOR OF PHYSIOLOGY IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LIVERPOOL.

THE subject of "the musical sense" should have an interest for each one of us since it is a phase of that marvellous *continuum* which is to every human being his worldly existence—his consciousness, and there is no more enthralling study than that afforded by the contemplation of some of the various aspects which this consciousness, the miracle of life, presents. Our sensations are the data of all our knowledge; they are sacred to ourselves. No man experiences my own sensation. I am set alone in the world. Other men may say that, like me, they have seen a particular sight, have heard a particular noise, have felt a particular touch, and I do not argue with them; let them call their experience the same as mine, it is a useful linguistic convention; I know, however, in my own soul that my thoughts, my memories, and my present feelings are mine and mine only.

They are the response of my living being to something, and this something I, in common with all others, agree to call an external world. I recognise one thing about it (but I recognise it also by my senses) that events which seem to occur in it, and which impress me, if they recur, impress me again in the same way. From this I jump out of self over the barrier which is really interposed between my consciousness and these coincidences, and I now talk of these as events, and term my consciousness of

the events sensations, and the events themselves external physical changes.

We all assume, even though we cannot explain the causal connection of consciousness with external reality, that what we term sensation is the mental echo in ourselves of something which is going on outside us. We know further that this mental echo is not one which is shared by every living part of us but is more or less intimately bound up with one part, possessed of a definite material structure. This is the most complicated and elaborate portion of our bodies, the brain. Without this organ we have no knowledge that such a mental echo exists, but let me add, it may exist, though not in the form or mode which coincides with our past or present experience. In a new form it may be as full, less full, or more complete than this.

Sensation, as we know it, is therefore the mental response to external physical change and is associated with a physiological process; hence all study of the phases which our sensations present, of their modes, and of the different factors essential for their production must be made with the full appreciation of the fact that the process is a mental one, always surrounded with the halo of consciousness and firmly set into thought as into its everlasting background.

Since, however, sensations are especially linked with the living activity of certain structures both in man and, presumably, in lower animals, the study of these structures with their component parts (the bricks and mortar from which they have been made) and the study of the living changes in these parts (the ebb and flow of mysterious powers) has thrown a flood of light upon the sensations themselves.

Speaking generally, it may be said that in each of the

senses of man, Sight, Hearing, Touch, Taste, and Smell, there are three essential structural parts concerned.

First, a part upon which the external agent makes its impression which is therefore situated on the surface of the body, and which is termed the peripheral sense-organ—the Eye, Ear, Skin, etc.

Secondly, a living strand of so-called nerve by which the impression received by the peripheral sense-organ is transmitted or conducted to the third part, the central receiving or responding mechanism in the brain. The message which the peripheral organ has told the nerve is thus told by the nerve to the brain and there may blossom straightway into the sensation.

For musical appreciation, as for any other, all the links of this chain must be present, not one wanting.

The greatest step ever taken in the physiology of sensation was that due to the clear recognition of these facts ; it was accomplished only half a century or so ago by the celebrated physiologist, Johannes Müller. He drew attention to two characteristics of all sense impressions, characteristics so universal that their essence has been crystallised into the shape of a dictum or law—the law of the specific energy of the senses.

This law is a generalisation from the following two groups of observed facts :—

There is first the fact that the same external force or cause, when it acts on different sense-organs, sends different messages along different lines to consciousness, and that the interpretation given by consciousness is thus absolutely related not to the character of the external force but to the character of the transmitted message.

So a blow on the skin is what we call a blow ; it is sensations of touch pressure, and perhaps pain, because, the skin, like the transmitter of the telephone, responds to

force, and starts a something that goes to a part of the brain which has always received messages from the skin; but if the blow is on the eye, in addition to the smart of the blow, we see stars—a sensation of light: if on the ear we hear a loud noise.

The external cause is the same, but the organ which responds is different, and the particular mechanism which is rung up, as it were, at the central station or brain, is in the one case that always rung up by touches, in the second, that rung up by sights, and in the third, that rung up by sounds.

Any particular sensation is thus irrevocably linked, not merely to a particular part of the brain, but to a particular line of communication from the external organ to the brain.

The second fact noted by Müller was that different physical causes acting on the same triple living sense-chain (organ, nerve, and receiving centre in the brain) are all interpreted by consciousness as the same sensation. The eye is excited by light, by mechanical pressure, by electricity, the optic nerve is awakened when cut, but it is light which forms the mental response in all cases.

The ear may be aroused by waves of sound, by mechanical blows, by electrical currents; the nerves may be aroused by pressure of tumours, by chemical agencies, by injury, but in all cases sounds and sounds only are the sensations.

Finally the brain centres may alone be aroused; when the central mechanism which receives impressions from the ear happens to be the one, we hear sounds, when that from the eye we have visions.

In this way we can have, if the brain centres are sufficiently aroused, processes set up there as intense as those which follow the arrival of the message from the

peripheral sense-organ itself, we may hear voices although no sound has reached the ear; such effects we call hallucinations.

But such effects in a less intense degree are always being aroused in our brains; we know, however, that they are not the same as the ones in which the external sense organ played a part. We recognise them as the ghosts of the reality, they are the echoes of a past, the memories of previous real sensations.

Now, though the peripheral sense organ is able to react to many different physical agents, and to awaken thus a response in consciousness, the secret of all specific sense energy is the circumstance that the organ of each of the senses has been particularly constructed, so as to favour enormously some one special physical agency, and to disfavour all others, so that the awakening of the living nerve in the organ is accomplished almost entirely by this one agent. I need hardly remind you that in the case of the Ear, the peripheral sense-organ which contributes to the sense of Hearing, the whole mechanism is hidden away in the bones and is adapted to favour its response to those mechanical alterations in the density of the media around us which are known as sound waves.

These waves are causal factors in all such sounds, whether musical or not. But in music the waves are marshalled in orderly array, they are set like drilled troops in regular order following one another rhythmically, whilst in noises they are a disorderly mob, and come one after another in no definite sequence, but in an irregular haphazard manner. But just as the battalions of an army may be partially broken or entirely routed, so the regular sequence of genuine musical waves may merge into disorder, and music thus becomes noise, whilst noises, if only repeated regularly, become music.

Speaking quite roughly, the musical waves are regular intermissions or pulsations; these are generally communicated to us through the air, but may be communicated through liquids or solids. However conveyed they may differ (1) in magnitude—the larger they are the louder is the note—(2) in rapidity—the more rapid they are the higher seems the pitch of the note, and (3) in quality. All these alterations of the pulsation of the air may be illustrated by the pulsation caused by a fan. You may fan yourself so as to cause a corresponding change either in the magnitude, in the rate, or in the quality of the pulsation of air produced. An even stroke of the fan, obviously must produce quite a different pulsation to that caused by a stroke which is rapid at first and dies out instead of stopping abruptly. So the pulsation of air caused by a vibrating string is of a different quality to that caused by a trumpet, and this difference has been shown to be largely due to the number and character of accessory vibrations which accompany the fundamental one, and which piled on the first or fundamental wave, alter its form as a wave of the sea is altered by the presence on it of smaller secondary waves.

When an ocean of sound from every instrument in an orchestra (including those most interesting of all musical instruments, human voices) is throbbing in the air, there is every degree of complexity of sound: impulse, pitch, intensity, and quality or *timbre* are present in such endless variety that the mind grows dizzy in the endeavour to realise their extent. But all these the marvellous ear can mechanically follow.

What is the mechanism by which the receiving organ in the ear is enabled to respond mechanically to so complicated a web of sound waves?

The essential structures are subservient to two pur-

poses :—a conducting part is framed to transmit the waves marshalled in all their array, to a transforming part where these physical waves are changed into vital molecular vibrations in living nerves.

The waves of sound are conducted first through the tube of the external ear to a circular membrane, the drum of the ear, or *membrana tympani*. This membrane has two remarkable peculiarities ; first, its web is woven in such a way that the woof is composed of two sets of stiff fibres, a circular set and a radiating set. No one fibre can thus vibrate on its own account, all must vibrate together, since the interlocking checks independent movement ; secondly, its shape is such that it presents the inside of a hollow cone to the pulsating air. Such a membrane, it has been found, will take up all vibrations equally. It is for this reason that in the very fine microphones now used in Germany parchment membranes of this shape have been employed. For almost all membranes some rate of vibration can be found which suits them best, the note of which is, therefore, their own fundamental tone ; if such a tone is sounded near them it is intensified, since they take it up and add to its force. The *membrana tympani* does not do this to any appreciable extent ; the only note which it intensifies is one so low as scarcely to be recognised as a musical tone at all.

On the inner side of the membrane is a cavity, the middle ear. Across this stretches a little chain of three bones ; these connect the tympanic membrane with a much smaller membrane covering a hole in the hard portion of the temporal bone.

The three bones are so arranged that the first (the *malleus*) has a long handle attached to the tympanic membrane, and a head which locks into the tooth of the second bone (the *incus*) ; whilst the incus is joined to a little bone

the *stapes* and this last to a second membrane covering in the small hole in the hard temporal bone. By this arrangement all vibrations of the tympanic membrane are transmitted to the membrane lining the inner oval hole or *fenestra ovalis*.

Now what is the advantage of this elaborate mechanism? To understand this, let me remind you that if a membrane is set vibrating it continues to do so after the force which started it has ceased. Thus, the string of a piano goes on vibrating, and the note goes on sounding after the key has ceased to be struck by the finger. But if the tympanic membrane went on vibrating after the air pulsation which had struck it had ceased, it would not be able to give a faithful record of the subsequent pulsations in the air. It must, like the writing style of the phonograph, be tuned to follow every fitful phase of the air, must start when the air starts, stop when this stops; in a word it must write the whole record, pauses as well as movements; otherwise it would be a bad historian.

Absolute perfection in this respect, like unimpeachable accuracy in histories, is not attainable, but the extraordinary degree to which the whole auditory apparatus has been developed in this direction is shown by the circumstance that it is possible for the human ear to distinguish as double, two sharp distinct sounds (electrical shocks in a telephone for instance) when they occur as closely after one another as $\frac{1}{800}$ ".

The means by which this is accomplished is the same, but on an infinitely more complex scale, as that by which the continuance of vibrations in the piano wire is disfavoured or checked. The wire is damped, by pulling down a damper by the soft pedal; the tympanic membrane is damped by being always connected through this chain of bones with the second membrane in the *fenestra ovalis*.

The whole mechanism moves with each pulsation but is prevented from oscillating to any appreciable extent on its own account. To secure this damping and thus to give a faithful record of the events going on in the air, is, I believe, the chief function of the attachments of the chain of bones. But it is not the only function; the arm of the *malleus* is about half as long again as the distance between the two membranes, and hence, since the whole chain vibrates like a bell-crank lever about the upper attachment of the *malleus*, the tympanic end and membrane must vibrate half as much again as the stirrup end. What is lost in extent is, however, gained in power, and the stirrup thus moves with greater power but to a less extent than does the *malleus*. A movement of the stirrup of only $\frac{1}{10,000}$ millimetre = $\frac{1}{800,000}$ inch, can thus operate on the internal ear. The advantage of this will be apparent when it is realised that on the other side of the membrane, in the *fenestra ovalis* where the stirrup ends, there is not air but a less mobile fluid, water, or, more strictly, lymph, the watery juice occupying the interstices of our tissues. The membrane on the *fenestra ovalis*, being set in vibration by the stirrup, communicates its oscillations to the liquid against its inner surface. This liquid (termed perilymph) fills a very elaborate cavity hollowed out in the deeper parts of the bone, so complicated in form that it has been called the osseous labyrinth. The labyrinth consists of an entrance hall from which start passages of two kinds. First, three horseshoe tunnels, called semi-circular canals, which return to it again; secondly, a long tunnel (the cochlea) which runs spirally for two and a half twists and coils back again to end against a second small opening or window, the *fenestra rotunda*; this latter opens into the same large tympanic cavity which contains the bones and is closed by membrane. As the whole is filled with the

liquid perilymph each vibration of the membrane on the *fenestra ovalis* causes a pulsation in the liquid which travels through the bony channels and, passing up the spiral cochlea, finally expends itself by a pulsation of the membranous window (*fenestra rotunda*) at the tympanic end. This beautiful mechanism ensures that the movements of the bones shall be still further damped through the liquid; thus, the two membranes at the two *fenestræ*, and the liquid between them, form a true functional continuation of the bones, the whole damping the response, and thus tending further to ensure the production of a faithful record without secondary oscillations.

But even this is not all; the damping arrangement is carried to a still greater state of perfection. Inside the bony labyrinth is another structure, the true ending of the conducting medium. This is a membranous bag which is slung between the walls of the bony cavity and which forms an inner membranous labyrinth. In this, guarded from all rude shocks, reside the presiding genii of the organ. The bag, or membranous labyrinth, is in its turn full of a second liquid (endolymph). This inner mansion consists of two membranous halls communicating by a small passage, from one of which membranous tubes pass along the bony corridors of the semi-circular canals, returning in these to their hall, whilst from the other a single tube, the aqueduct, passes up in the spiral twist of the cochlea, ending blindly near the top. Its relation to the osseous portion of the cochlea is best realised when it is examined in birds, since in these the cochlea is not spirally twisted but straight.

It is from the interior of this membranous part that the branches of the auditory nerve come which transmit to the brain the altered molecular change produced in their ends by sound-waves, and it is on the inner wall of

this bag that the special structures are found which transform the pulsations of liquid into those molecular vibrations which are living nervous activities.

The membranous tube in the cochlea (the so-called aqueduct) is triangular in cross-section, having two free membranous sides and one which is firmly attached to the bone. Of the two free membranes, one, which is quite simple, faces towards that part of the perilymph nearest the entrance hall; to this, therefore, the wave-impulses must come. The other is a special membrane (basilar) bearing upon its internal side, bathed by endolymph, a beautifully constructed and most elaborate arrangement—the organ of Corti—looking rather like the set of dampers on the wires of a grand piano.

The features of this complicated structure are:—(1) the presence (in mammalia) of rigid rods, arranged so as to form a little tunnel all the way along the membrane; (2) the presence of nerve fibres ending around peculiar cells with hair-like processes on their ends; (3) the set of all these across the fibrous basilar membrane; (4) the membrane itself consisting of a close web of elastic fibres, narrow at the bottom of the cochlea (the soprano portion) and wide at the top of the cochlea (the bass portion); (5) the existence over the hair-cells of a projecting roof of cells (*membrana tectoria*). One purpose of all this is to further ensure that the oscillations of this structure shall be a precise record of the pulsations of the liquid; in reality, the tunnel, the hairs, the liquid, and the projecting roof are so many dampers of a most elaborate kind.

A second purpose seems to be to provide that every different part of the basilar membrane and damper shall be of different calibre; both the fibres of the membrane and the tunnel structures upon it are small at the base and increase in size as the tube is ascended.

I need perhaps hardly say, that such an arrangement as this suggests at first sight a series of what are known as resonators. If a note is sung near a piano, on its cessation, the same note will be heard sounding from the instrument, and if you put your finger on the wire which when struck gives that note, this echo of your voice ceases; evidently, that string, and that only, was set vibrating by the note. This tendency of any string to be set vibrating by the note which it would give were it itself struck, is termed by physicists its resonant property, and the body which thus vibrates is termed a resonator.

The various fibres of the basilar membrane with the organs upon them have been supposed by Helmholtz to act like resonators. The lower, shorter, and slighter end is thus supposed to be set in vibration by high notes, the upper, broader, and heavier end by deep notes. However that may be, it is undoubted that vibrations of sound are communicated through the stirrup to the perilymph, thence to the simple membrane of the aqueduct, so to the endolymph, and finally to the basilar membrane and the structures upon it.

But the whole basilar structure is pervaded by the exquisitely delicate ends of branching nerves which seem to end around the fine hair cells; if, therefore, any part of the membrane should be caused to pulsate, its pulsation will shake the cellular structures upon it, and press the particular nerve-fibres among these cells. Each nerve-fibre is thus awakened at its end, and this awakening flows up the nerve as far as the living chain extends, until it terminates in the brain. Now, it is the remarkable feature of nerve awakening that, although a nerve is easily enough aroused by a single sudden change in its surroundings, on the cessation of that change it resumes its old state of

repose in an extraordinarily brief period of time. It is then ready to be aroused again.

Of what use would all the elaborate mechanism I have described as serving to secure adequate damping be, if the living nerve were unable itself to be faithfully impressed by the phases of the pulsations? The nerve has, however, the property of passing from repose to activity and back to repose again in a shorter time than that in which even the organ of Corti, with all its elaborate mechanism, can pass through the phase of response and restitution. Nor is there anything remarkable in this, for the response of the organ of Corti, although very small, is a gross mechanical movement, and must take time to come and go, whilst that of the nerve is an internal molecular change, a mere rearrangement of subtle particles. Thus, the organ of Corti transforms sound waves into nerve waves; but if special parts of it vibrate to special notes, then, since its size is limited, there must be a limit to the notes to which it can respond, this limit having a high end and a low end. The brain of man cannot distinguish a note which is produced by vibrations less frequent than about 30 a second. The upper limit varies in different people; a few cannot hear the note of a cricket, many cannot hear the note caused by the beating of a bat's wing, none can hear a note of above 50,000 vibrations in a second, although such a note is readily heard by other animals. Galton made a whistle which gave a rapid series of 50,000 pulsations; it gave no note that man could hear, but cats and dogs, from their behaviour, evidently heard and appreciated it.

Is there between this upper and lower limit every possible gradation? Now this brings in the question as to the mode in which the apparatus in the cochlea works. According to Helmholtz, each particular part of the organ

picks out a particular note even from a complex chord; this it does in consequence of its construction, being framed so that one part alone vibrates to a special rate of pulsation. If, therefore, a tone is one in which many notes are blended, Helmholtz imagines that the particular portions of the membrane which would give these notes independently, could we but strike them, vibrate now with the pulsations, and so special groups of hair-cells are set in motion, whilst others remain still. The membrane thus analyses the individual notes which are present in the full volume of chords.

If this view is correct, it is clear that there ought to be some sort of relation between the number of notes which can be distinguished as distinct, and the number of hair-cells or basilar membrane fibres in the organ of Corti.

Ordinary people appreciate so as to distinguish them from each other, tones varying from the low Bass C of the piano to the highest Treble C; these tones are due to vibrations varying from 40 to (roughly speaking) 4,224 in one second.

Now, there are about 24,000 fibres in the basilar membrane in man, about 5,000 dampers (rods of Corti), and about 16,000 hair-cells, 4 rows of 4,000 each. The numbers 4,000 rows of cells and 4,000 vibrations is a coincidence, nothing more, for, although fine gradation is possible, the total range of ordinary hearing can extend up to 40,000 vibrations. It is evident that, although the number of elements is quite adequate to provide for the range of the piano notes, it is not adequate to give the full range of hearing, provided that it is necessary to have a separate element for each separate distinguishable set of vibrations or notes. But more than this, the difference between the piano and the violin is that the former is a

limited instrument—it is impossible to slide through every gradation from one tone to another,—while the latter is a perfect instrument.

Now a good violinist has been known to recognise 50 differences of tone between two notes, such as A and B $\flat$, a difference less than the entire vibration of air, these being 440 for A and 467·5 for B $\flat$. It is true that such a man is an exception, he has developed this discriminating faculty through great experience; but no education could possibly give him this power unless the mechanism in the ear behaved differently in the two cases, vibrated in one way to one note, in another way to the note $\frac{1}{50}$ of a semi-tone apart from it.

This consideration alone must lead us to think that probably the possibilities of the ear as a receiving organ are far beyond our present experience. Just as it is theoretically possible in an instrument like the violin to slide absolutely imperceptibly off a note, so it may be possible for the ear to send up a different message to the the brain when an extremely minute and quite unrecognisable difference occurs in the pulsation. The slight difference in quality which exists in the sound of the same wire when struck by different pianists (the difference of *touch*) must be something very slight. It seems to me that Helmholtz's view, which makes the organ a series of resonators, limits the perfection of the instrument far more than is consistent with fact.

The validity of his theory has of late been somewhat threatened on experimental grounds, since the following experiment is very difficult to explain. Two simultaneous tones A (880) and C (1056) give to the ear the beat tone F (176). This beat tone of F was not responded to by any artificial resonator, although when F was sounded alone, a suitable resonator responded readily. It was a sense-

organ phenomenon, but since no resonator responded to the tone when produced by the two notes, the combined tone, as heard, was probably incapable of analysis by the organ. There is one other most striking consideration which is still more opposed to the view, that the several parts of the basilar membrane and organ of Corti act as so many distinct resonators. I have all along insisted on the circumstance that the structure is pre-eminently adapted to secure the most effectual damping, and this adaptation is one which would not facilitate the production of resonance.

For effective resonance the body must lend itself freely to vibration; for effective damping the body must be restrained, and its movement, though free at first, must be abruptly checked. The structure of the ear is in my opinion, therefore, adapted so as to prevent resonance and secure damping.

It is with the consciousness of such difficulties that other views in opposition to Helmholtz have been advanced, according to which, instead of *particular* cells acting, *every* cell and fibre is impressed by the liquid pulsation. Just as each complicated sound vibration can traverse the telephone and be registered as such on the phonograph not analysed out, but registered as a whole and just as the phonograph can give its vibrations back again to the telephone and reproduce the sounds, so the conducting apparatus of the ear may at any moment transmit the sound-waves in all their complexity and impress them as one wave on the whole membrane, and upon all its cells and fibres at once. Every cell is disturbed, but each a shade differently to its neighbour; every nerve fibre is aroused, and simultaneous messages travel along all the auditory fibres to the brain; but the intensity and character of the message in one fibre is

different from that in another. The centre in the brain receives it as a whole, it does not analyse. Only by very long education is the power attained by consciousness of picking out some one message from the complicated group. That such a power can be attained is common knowledge. Have not we all been impressed by the skill of a good conductor at rehearsal, who can pull up his orchestra and say, "A violin is playing B $\flat$; it is wrong, play B $\sharp$."

Whatever view we may take about the cochlea, there can be no question that the recognition of the musical note is the business of the brain. The faithful organ in the cochlea does its share; it sends up the message, and this arrives at a particular part of the brain, the auditory centre. Experiment and observation seem to show that it is situated in the temporo-sphenoidal lobe. Disease or injury of this lobe is accompanied by deficiency in hearing. The house in which the interpreter resides, who alone can translate the message from the ear, being tenantless, the message remains untranslated.

But even though the brain is intact it may happen that the interpreter fails from lack of education, or he may be a dull dog at the best; he may, when he receives the message, only know whether it is a noise or a musical sound.

"I have no ear;" thus Lamb begins one of his most delightful essays. He narrates how he is bored by what he terms "that profanation of the cheerful play-house, the oratorio;" how attending a musical evening is to him like forming one of "that party in a parlour, all silent and all damned." But it is not ears which are wanting in such people; I am bound to say it is brains. It needs a Daniel in the brain and not a Belshazzar to interpret the writing on the wall. The distinction between the so-called

fine musical ear and the coarse one is in reality that between the fine musical brain and the reverse.

Consider that the actual ear, even with its wonderful cochlea, is really extraordinarily complex in lower animals. Such an animal as the rabbit has 2,000 rows of hair-cells in its cochlea, 8,000 in all, placed like ours on a finely graduated basilar membrane. It is not at first sight a musical animal; its appreciation seems to us almost minimal, but the organ is there; and probably if a rabbit attended a Philharmonic concert its cochlea would be recording the different sounds of orchestra and chorus which surge to it in the air, not as completely as ours, perhaps, but not inadequately. The record is, however, of no use to the animal since the interpreter in his brain has been adapted to recognise other sounds, such as those caused by the barking of dogs or rustles in the grass near his warren.

Rossetti stated an obvious truth when he said "The music lives about my brain."

The development of musical appreciation thus involves the development of two things—an elaborate mechanism in the ear and a sensitive educated interpreter in the brain.

The ear mechanism has been evolved in lower animals through the operation of natural and sexual selection, and has been transmitted by them to man.

It must have always been of the greatest service to vertebrates, to possess a means of ascertaining the thousand and one different sounds around them, in order to recognise with greater ease the presence of their friends and of their enemies. To respond adequately to natural sounds an organ of great complication is necessary, since there is every possible gradation in such sounds. Musical sounds as such were only heeded by the brains of those

animals (birds, etc.,) in whom such appreciation was fraught with useful purpose. But the bird's faculty of song is quite a different thing from man's highly developed musical appreciation. It is this great development in man which presents such a difficult problem from the point of view of evolution. Darwin felt this when he said, "As neither the enjoyment nor the capacity of producing musical notes are faculties of the least use to man in reference to his daily habits of life, they must be ranked amongst the most mysterious with which he is endowed."

But are they no use? Later on Darwin says, "Musical sounds are the basis for the development of language." Now, of all the gifts with which higher animals have been endowed by the operation of natural selection, there is hardly one of so much importance as the gift of language. The rude sounds of the monkeys and lower vertebrates are of the greatest service to them, indicating in a moment their fears, their joys, their expectations, their realised hopes, and thus creating a means of transferring their own mental states, particularly their emotions, to their fellows.

The development of voice and speech is of such obvious utility to man that I need not emphasise it; what I would emphasise is, that side by side with such development there must be a development of brain. Speech is musical, the tones of the voice are musical tones; every inflection, every different word is a group of notes of different pitch, intensity and quality. It would be all lost if the brain were not capable of interpreting these sounds.

Before language comes rude song. The vocal organ is so ready to be moved that with each out-burst of nervous energy it is thrown into activity. Every violent emotion, love, hatred, fear, joy, even in the lowest of men, as in many animals, tends to show itself in voice. The wounded

lion roars, the infuriated bull bellows, with a shout of rage the savage hurls himself upon his foe.

It is this intimate connection with the emotions, a connection which extends back far beyond all history to the primæval progenitors of man that gives to musical appreciation some of its most subtle qualities. There is often more intensity of feeling in one single musical note than in whole pages of writing. Is not this because the sensation aroused by the note brings with it the unrecognised echoes of a far distant ancestral past, the passions of a remote animal world reverberating in that note?

But, granted that language and primitive music are thus useful to man, is the elaborate music, such as exists now, so advantageous to his development that it has arisen by natural selection? It is certainly a great pleasure, and so, indirectly, advantageous; but there is little direct evidence that it has aided him in his struggle for existence. It stirs the passions, it is true, but civilization is rather the development of means for the control of passion than of agencies which render them more easily aroused.

What, then, is the secret of its later development? It is dependent essentially on the circumstance, that the rise of man is due to his possessing, by heredity, an organ which rapidly grows and subordinates all his members. This organ is the brain. By his wit man is at the head of animals, not by his strength. It is an intellectual advance which is for him the *summum bonum*; this is his *raison d'être*, the main spring of his powers. He has the ear, it is his heirloom from the beasts of the field; his developing brain gives him the interpreter. But in spite of these possessions, the music of to-day would be impossible, either to produce or to appreciate, were it not for the fact that by his wit man made two inventions which revolutionised the race.

The first was the invention of musical instruments. Possessing a musical instrument himself, his voice, it was natural that he should be struck by the circumstance that he could produce similar sounds in inanimate objects.

In the Pitt Rivers museum at Oxford are several primitive instruments such as were first used by African natives far beyond the touch of modern civilization. The savage twanged his bow on his way to the chase; chancing to sling on it his water-gourd for ease in carrying, he found that the gourd intensified the note produced by the string. He then made the gourd a permanency, and thus was evolved the negro banjo. The invention of musical instruments rendered it possible to sound a number of notes of different pitch, intensity and quality at the same time.

Alone, however, this would have done but little, for although such notes might be sounded, they could only be exactly repeated by keeping them in the memory. No doubt many of the melodies, even those which are found to-day in the master-pieces of the greatest of living composers, Brahms, are based on those of far away times, passed on in the manner of the troubadours, from one generation of wandering Eastern tribes to another, and fragments of which are the Volkslied of the Hungarian and Magyar of to-day.

But no Brahms, no Beethoven, no Mozart could have existed and worked with such fragments as these alone. In order to produce music as we know it now, a written musical language was necessary as well as a spoken one.

The second great fact was, therefore, the invention by man of written music, and this necessitated a musical notation.

Music as it exists to-day is thus largely an invention, just as any written language is. This at once brings in

the real feature of the development of man's musical acquirements. As Weismann has well said, "Man possesses a tradition, he improves and perfects his performances by passing on the gains of each generation to those who follow."

It is in music as in literature, the written music of the past is the property of the living present.

But it may be asked, if this is so, why do we not have a succession of greater and greater composers—the producers of music? The question seems plausible, but is really a foolish one. Do we have a constant succession of greater and greater poets? Has Shakespeare been repeated in English literature? no more than Mozart, Bach and Beethoven have been yet repeated in music. A great musical genius, like a great literary genius, is one of the intellectual comets of the human race. There are many highly gifted beings well versed in literature who can compose no immortal poem. The intellect which can compose an immortal work, in letters or music, a work which can sway the souls of the rest of mankind, must be one of infinite flexibility, exquisitely sensitive to every impression; strength of will must be joined with refinement; the whole brain must be in a state of happy combination, such as is reached rarely, and when it is, the world stamps its possessor as one of its great—a genius. If this rare combination is the essence of musical genius, the humbler combination, similar in kind, but differing in degree and extent, is the essence of musical appreciation. Many a man is truly musical, although he cannot play a single instrument, and is unable to sing a single note, but he thrills to music when he hears it; it sways him in a way which he cannot himself explain. He thus has, to some extent, the necessary intellectual combination. The interpreter is ready, and by receiving many messages, has

been educated to a true appreciation of the tale told by the ear.

Let it not, however, be supposed that this mental interpreter starts fully equipped for his rôle from the outset. He has to be educated. Through the simple songs of childhood, the rhythmical music of early youth, the more or less meretricious and pretty melodies of adolescence, we pass to the subtle and refined harmonies of the great masters. Our mental condition thus tends to faintly resemble that of the great composers themselves whose work we now begin to appreciate.

The more thorough the musical appreciation the more does the brain of the listener also tend to resemble that of the originator. It may be objected that such education is specialisation; so is all life, intellectual or other. The great development of the human individual as of the human race is due to the education and advance of one special organ, the brain, and its special function, the intellect, and although a particular part of the brain may be pre-eminently associated with the development of a special sense, yet, since it forms only one part of a whole from which it cannot be isolated, any agencies which foster its growth favour the whole organ, and thus favour all intellectual processes. This is the psychological root of the tree of education.

It is surely then an intellectual defect which blemishes those who, like Lamb, have no ear; an intellectual defect which, in many cases, I believe to be due to inadequate early musical training, and if so, this might be remedied. An early musical education is like an early literary education, a means of promoting intellectual growth. Why, then, is it that musical appreciation and its development is considered of little value in scholastic life? Why should it be considered of great value for a boy to struggle through

the thorny path of the Greek syntax in order to feebly appreciate one phase of past literature, but of no value for him to have his musical sense educated so as to appreciate the whole musical literature of his race, past and present? Is the one more profitable to his soul than the other? Will the charms of Greek be to him in his manhood such as to outweigh those of music? It may be said few can be educated to appreciate music; but surely far fewer can be educated to appreciate Greek.

The reason that musical education, for men at any rate, is decried as waste of time, is because of the ignorance of those who educate, and the poor result achieved by their methods. The popular notion of such musical education is that of learning to play an instrument, which process, since it requires mechanical skill and aptitude, is for many impossible, and for others a martyrdom. But this is not musical education. If some instrumental knowledge is necessary for appreciation, has not each one of us an instrument to learn the use of, the human voice?

For my part, I blame the unreasoning folly of those school pedagogues who do all they can to repress the musical side of a boy's nature. School musical education generally means learning the piano, and this under such conditions that only a boy with an imperious desire to learn could do so. For the usual custom is that music, being "an extra," is carried on in play hours. No time can be spared from the study of mathematics and classics for the purpose, and the boy has to give up that bodily exercise which is to him the breath of his nostrils. Needless to say, few take music, and those who do mostly repent, and induce their parents to let them give it up.

The whole system is radically wrong. It is not musical technique which should be aimed at in order to develop the musical sense, but musical appreciation, and this has

at last been recognised in many large schools, of which Harrow affords an instance.

The true musical education of childhood is to develop, by a careful method of training, the mental interpreter, so that all through after-life he can drain the vivifying draughts which lie ready for him in the musical compositions of great intellects. It is an obvious truism to add that the more widely music is performed the more chances there are of this education reaching the masses, and thus elevating and benefiting the race.

Man's advance has been along an intellectual line, and one factor at least in such advance is, and always will be, the growth in man of an appreciation of musical sounds.

PICTURE OF WALES DURING THE TUDOR PERIOD—(HENRY VII TO ELIZABETH.)

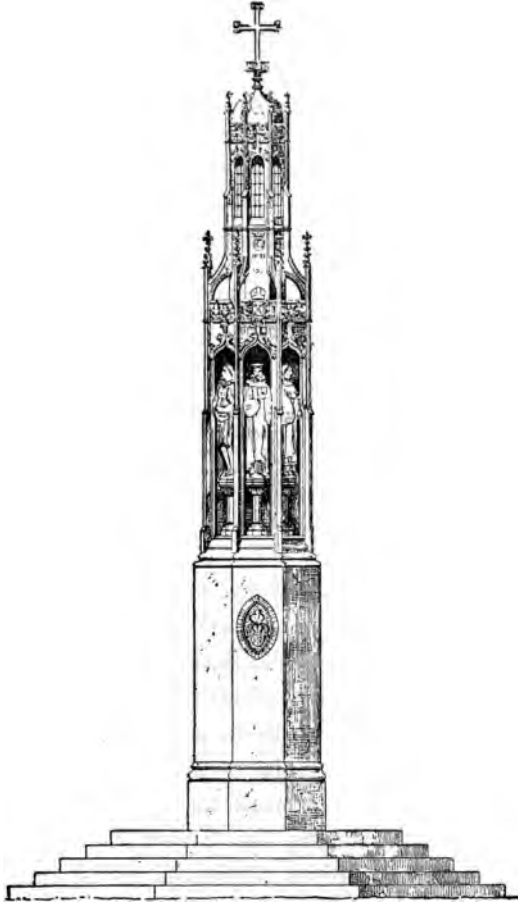
By J. BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D., LOND.

CHAPTER I.—MEMORIAL TO BISHOP MORGAN AND OTHERS TO COMMEMORATE THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO WELSH.

THE following sketch attempting to give a life-like picture of Wales in its Social, Religious, Educational, and National Aspects during the Tudor Period, (which was perhaps the most important of any portion of its chequered history) took its origin in the unveiling in August of last year (1892) of an architectural memorial in St. Asaph, to commemorate the tercentenary of the publication in 1588 of the first Welsh Translation of the entire Bible. The circumstances of its translation, and the lives of the various actors connected with it, are so strikingly illustrative of the condition of Wales at that time, that they have been used as the ground work for drawing the following "Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period." It has been completed by copious references to the Acts of Parliament relating to Wales of Henry VIII and Elizabeth and their predecessors, to the vivid pictures of the times derived from the contemporary historians of the period, and to the Reports of the Charity Commissioners on Endowed Schools in Wales.

Memorial Monument to Bishop Morgan and Others.

A memorial monument, about thirty feet high, was



MEMORIAL ERECTED TO THE TRANSLATORS OF THE WELSH BIBLE IN
THE CHURCHYARD OF ST. ASAPH CATHEDRAL.*

In the Memorial itself the following quotation from Morgan's dedication of this version to Queen Elizabeth, is inscribed *under* his effigy: "*Religio enim, nisi vulgari linguâ edoceatur, ignota latitabit,*"—*for religion will lie hidden and unknown, unless it is taught in the Vulgar tongue.*

* Taken by kind permission of the S. P. C. K. from their valuable little work, *The Life of Bishop Morgan.*

erected in 1892 in the churchyard of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, in memory of the two eminently great benefactors of the Welsh people (Salesbury and Morgan), and of six others who assisted in varying degrees in the execution of their great work, viz: the translation, three hundred years since, of the Bible from the Greek and Hebrew into the vernacular Welsh, which was at that time the only language of the general population of that country. No memorial, not even a gravestone or an inscription, has hitherto indicated the place of burial of Bishop Morgan, and the exact site is still a matter of conjecture. But after the lapse of three hundred years the Welsh people of every denomination, and even so far off as Australia, have been roused to the erection of a monument to his memory and to that of his principal coadjutors, and have contributed to the expense without reference to differences of denomination, and it has been placed in the situation in every respect most appropriate, viz., the churchyard of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, of which Dr. Morgan was Bishop, and where he ended his days upon earth—September 10th, 1604, the second year of James I's reign.

The memorial exhibited in the accompanying sketch contains at its angles eight statues representing the two principal authors of the translation, Morgan and Salesbury, and also six of their colleagues who gave them assistance, viz., Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, who translated about a tenth part of the New Testament; Thomas Huet, Precentor of the same Cathedral, who translated the Book of Revelations; Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, who revised the proofs of Morgan's Bible; Richard Parry, Bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Davies, his Chaplain, who prepared the second and revised version of the Welsh Bible; and Archdeacon Prys, who translated the Psalms into Welsh metre. In reality, however, the

figure of Bp. Morgan is conjectural, as there is no known portrait or effigy of him in existence. To him and to Salesbury may indeed be applied, as their true and lasting memorial, with the change of only a single word, the epitaph upon Sir Christopher Wren. "Si monumentum quæris, circumspice,"—"If you seek a monument, look round,"—was his epitaph in St. Paul's Cathedral. For Bishop Morgan and Salesbury we may justly substitute "Si monumentum quæritis, audite."—"If you seek a monument, *listen*,"—to the tens of thousands of voices that have daily read the words of their Welsh Bible in Welsh cottages and Welsh homes throughout the world, and to the public reading of the same Welsh Bible in the churches and chapels that are to be found wherever Welshmen are gathered together.

CHAPTER II.—INFLUENCE UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY AND THEIR LEGISLATION TOWARDS WALES, ARISING FROM THEIR WELSH DESCENT.

Henry VII's Welsh Religious Character Illustrated.

Henry VII, although more nearly a pure Welshman than his son or grand-daughter, was so occupied by the pacification of England after the Wars of the Roses, and by its restoration to prosperity after the disasters of the period that he did little directly for Wales by legislation; but he held two Eisteddfodau during his reign, and he would also seem to have been influenced by his Welsh religious temperament in placing upon his coinage almost throughout his reign the motto: "I have set God always before me," accompanied in one coin by an "Eye of Providence" in the middle of the motto—as if to say "Thou, God, seest whether I am true or not,"—and further still

by his addition in Westminster Abbey of the exquisitely beautiful chapel still known as "Henry VII's Chapel."

It is interesting to notice how the Welsh descent of Henry VIII from a Welsh father (Henry VII—Tudor) and that of Elizabeth also, the same king's grand-daughter, influenced their character and legislation. In the earliest historical times the Welsh were noted for their religious temperament, in their Druidical if not even earlier religion, to which so many Cromlechs in that country still bear witness, in the number of their native saints, and in the tenacity with which they held their own creed and practices against the differences brought in amongst the Saxons by St. Augustine, from Rome. In accordance with this hereditary temperament, one of Henry VIII's first public acts was his writing a religious pamphlet in reply to Luther; and one of his last actions, only four years before his death, was the issue of a new coin called the "George Noble," with this singular motto upon it: "*Tali dicata signo mens fluctuari nequit.*" "*Consecrated by this sign my mind can know no fear.*" This motto is taken from a Latin hymn, by Prudentius, in the fourth century, entitled "Hymn before Sleep," in which we are recommended to make the sign of the cross on our forehead and our heart when we go to bed, because—"Tali dicata signo mens fluctuari nequit." The hymn itself may be paraphrased thus:—

My heart and brow by cross impressed
My soul can know no fear;
For Christ himself shall give me rest,
His presence ever near.

But the traditional nursery rhyme—

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John
Bless the bed that I lie on;
One to watch and one to pray,
And two to carry my soul away.

is much more familiar to English ears than the translation of the Latin hymn above given.

It is possibly to Henry's Welsh temperament that we may attribute his adoption of this motto on his coinage, when his health was failing in his old age, and death was approaching; and it is, probably, really a true picture rather than a caricature of the influence upon Henry of his Welsh religious temperament to say, that he began his public life by writing a religious tract, and ended it by inscribing a Latin nursery hymn upon the last coinage that he issued during his long reign.

His legislation relates to Wales and Welsh interests in a most marked and patriotic degree, and Elizabeth manifested the same interest in requiring an Act of Parliament to be passed for the translation of the Bible into the language of that country for the benefit of the Welsh peasantry. No English monarch has ever ordered or assisted in obtaining a translation of the Bible into Irish for the Irish peasantry, nor has either English or Scottish king had it translated into Gaelic for the Highlanders of Scotland.

CHAPTER III.—PREVIOUS LAWS OF HENRY IV AGAINST WELSH PEOPLE.

The laws of his predecessor Henry IV (previous to Henry VIII by above a hundred years), present a strange picture of the condition of Wales, and the light in which the Welsh were regarded by the English in his time, viz., as aliens and enemies to be kept down in every possible manner. His Acts of Parliament are all in French, but they are decipherable with a little care, and they are curiosities in the present day on account of their brevity, many of them being only five to ten lines in length.*

* See copy of two entire Acts, p. 90.

Commencing with the first that relates to the Welsh, it is enacted that "no complete Welshman born in Wales of a Welsh father and Welsh mother may purchase lands or houses in the towns of Chester, Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Gloucester or Worcester, or in any mercantile town whatever adjoining the Marches of Wales or their suburbs, on pain of forfeiting them to the seigneurs by whom such lands are held in chief, and that *no Welshman* henceforward shall be harboured or received so as to become a *Citizen or Burgess* of such town, and that those Welshmen who are already citizens shall have to find good surety for their loyal conduct, and shall hold no office whatever nor carry armour."—2 Henry IV, c. xii.

This seems pretty comprehensive, but in the same year he passed three more Acts enacting that if any Welshman should steal cattle from an Englishman, and not return them within seven days after demand, the Englishman might take the law into his own hands and steal the Welshman's cattle. 2 Henry IV, c. xvi.

No Englishman should be condemned at the suit of a Welshman in Wales, except by English Justices. 2 Henry IV, c. xix.

Nor should Englishmen be convicted by Welshmen in Wales, nor by any one except Englishmen living in the neighbourhood, and of good repute. 4 Henry IV, c. xxvi.

No Welshman shall be allowed to carry arms, or to possess a castle or fortified house. (See page 97). Any such house, castle, or walled town can only be held by an Englishman, and no Welshman can hold any kind of office, such as lawyer, sheriff, constable or the like. No armour nor even victuals shall be allowed to be carried into Wales, and felons in South Wales must not only be captured and imprisoned by the gentry of the lordship (Seignorie), but the Seignorie shall also pay compensation

is much more familiar to English ears than the translation of the Latin hymn above given.

It is possibly to Henry's Welsh temperament that we may attribute his adoption of this motto on his coinage, when his health was failing in his old age, and death was approaching; and it is, probably, really a true picture rather than a caricature of the influence upon Henry of his Welsh religious temperament to say, that he began his public life by writing a religious tract, and ended it by inscribing a Latin nursery hymn upon the last coinage that he issued during his long reign.

His legislation relates to Wales and Welsh interests in a most marked and patriotic degree, and Elizabeth manifested the same interest in requiring an Act of Parliament to be passed for the translation of the Bible into the language of that country for the benefit of the Welsh peasantry. No English monarch has ever ordered or assisted in obtaining a translation of the Bible into Irish for the Irish peasantry, nor has either English or Scottish king had it translated into Gaelic for the Highlanders of Scotland.

CHAPTER III. — PREVIOUS LAWS OF HENRY IV AGAINST WELSH PEOPLE.

The laws of his predecessor Henry IV (previous to Henry VIII by above a hundred years), present a strange picture of the condition of Wales, and the light in which the Welsh were regarded by the English in his time, viz., as aliens and enemies to be kept down in every possible manner. His Acts of Parliament are all in French, but they are decipherable with a little care, and they are curiosities in the present day on account of their brevity, many of them being only five to ten lines in length.*

* See copy of two entire Acts, p. 90.

Commencing with the first that relates to the Welsh, it is enacted that "no complete Welshman born in Wales of a Welsh father and Welsh mother may purchase lands or houses in the towns of Chester, Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Gloucester or Worcester, or in any mercantile town whatever adjoining the Marches of Wales or their suburbs, on pain of forfeiting them to the seigneurs by whom such lands are held in chief, and that *no Welshman* henceforward shall be harboured or received so as to become a *Citizen or Burgess* of such town, and that those Welshmen who are already citizens shall have to find good surety for their loyal conduct, and shall hold no office whatever nor carry armour."—2 Henry IV, c. xii.

This seems pretty comprehensive, but in the same year he passed three more Acts enacting that if any Welshman should steal cattle from an Englishman, and not return them within seven days after demand, the Englishman might take the law into his own hands and steal the Welshman's cattle. 2 Henry IV, c. xvi.

No Englishman should be condemned at the suit of a Welshman in Wales, except by English Justices. 2 Henry IV, c. xix.

Nor should Englishmen be convicted by Welshmen in Wales, nor by any one except Englishmen living in the neighbourhood, and of good repute. 4 Henry IV, c. xxvi.

No Welshman shall be allowed to carry arms, or to possess a castle or fortified house. (See page 97). Any such house, castle, or walled town can only be held by an Englishman, and no Welshman can hold any kind of office, such as lawyer, sheriff, constable or the like. No armour nor even victuals shall be allowed to be carried into Wales, and felons in South Wales must not only be captured and imprisoned by the gentry of the lordship (Seignorie), but the Seignorie shall also pay compensation

for the offence committed. 4 Henry IV, c. xxvii-xxix, and 26 Henry VIII, c. vi, sec. 4.

Not only were the men of Wales thus evil in the eyes of the king, but the women also appear to be so in his Acts of Parliament; and one of the shortest, and perhaps most ungallant acts ever passed may be quoted in extenso as a curiosity of the times.

It had been previously enacted that if any Englishman *already* a Burgess in any town should marry a Welshwoman he should forfeit his privileges as a Burgess, and then came the following short pithy act: "It is enacted that no Englishman married to a Welshwoman either friendly or allied to Owen ap Glendoury, traitor to our lord the king, or to any Welshwoman *since* the rebellion of the said Owen, or *in time to come shall be married to any Welshwoman* shall be put into any office in Wales or in the Marches of the same.* 4 Henry IV, c. xxxiv.

Another curious feature comes before us in these Acts. Welsh *Bards* as well as Welsh women were evidently not in good odour with the Henrys of earlier date, for Henry IV thus expressed his estimate of them in the following Act †—4 Henry IV, c. xxvii. "Item. In order to avoid many diseases and mischiefs which have happened before

* "Item ordeignez est & establiz que nul homme Englois mariez á aucune Galois del amistee ou aliance de Owen ap Glendoury, traitour a nostre seigneur le roy ou a autre femme Galoise puis la rebellion du dit Owen ou en temps advenir soi ferra marier a aucune femme Gouloise soit mys en aucune office en Gales ou en les Marches dicelles." (This is the entire Act, preamble and everything.)

† 4 Henry IV, c. xxvii. Item pur eschuir plusieurs diseases et meschiefs qont advenez devaunt ces heures en la terre de Gales par plusieurs westours, rymours ministrals et autres vacabondes ordeignez est et establiz qe nul westour, rymour ministrall ne vacabonde soit aucunement sustenez en la terre de Gales par faire Kymorthas ("morte," "death" elegies) ou Coillage sur la commune people illoeqes.

Other Acts of Henry IV and V for reference.—4 Henry IV, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii. 9 Henry IV, c. iii. 1 Henry V, c. vi.

these days in the land of Wales through many wastrels, *rhymers*, *minstrels*, and *other vagabonds*, it is ordained that no wastrel, *rhymers*, *minstrel*, or *vagabond* shall be in any way sustained in the land of Wales to make Kymorthas (funeral ditties) or Coillage upon the common people there."

CHAPTER IV.—SOCIAL CONDITION OF WALES DURING THE TUDOR PERIOD.

This is vividly pictured in Henry VIII's own Acts of Parliament, and in those of Elizabeth; and in the *History of the Five Royal Tribes of Wales* by Philip Yorke, of Erthig,* and in the *History of the Gwydir Family* by Sir J. Wynn.† The *Welshman's Candle* ‡ brings it down to the time of James I, while the Acts of Henry IV and V relating to Wales, and the statutes of Rhuddlan of Edward I, take it back two centuries before the Tudors. It is from these sources, from the Charity Commission Reports on Endowed Schools in Wales, and the translations of the Bible themselves that the following chapters are mainly derived.

Henry VIII's Favourable Legislation towards Wales.

When Henry VIII had been some time upon the throne, being so much of a Welshman himself, he practically repealed all the former penal statutes by his great and patriotic Act of the 27th year of his reign, which ordained that all Welshmen should have equal rights and privileges with Englishmen; and that all being equally the king's subjects, all should rank equally before the laws of the henceforth United Kingdom. He seems early in his reign to have made a distinction between the "vagabond" rhymers or minstrels—common street musicians—and the recognised,

* About 1780.

† About 1620.

‡ About 1630.

and, in a sense, official minstrels, bards, or heralds; and by his command a Royal Eisteddfod was held at Caerwys, Flintshire, in 1523, the fourteenth year of his reign, for the purpose (it is said) of licensing the proper bards, and consequently putting a stop to the "vagabond minstrels." After, however, twenty-seven years of sovereignty his sense of the necessity for making Wales really an integral part of the kingdom caused him, while removing the penal enactments of Henry IV against the Welsh, to ordain by 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, s. 20, that "all justices and other officers and ministers of the law shall keep the sessions courts and all other courts in the *English* tongue, and no persons that use the *Welsh* language shall have any office or fees in England or *Wales*, upon pain of forfeiting the same unless they use the English language."

This great *official* discouragement to the continuance of the Welsh language remained until the time of Elizabeth. But national customs and native affections are stronger than Acts of Parliament: and just as the mixed Saxon and Danish (*i.e.*, the English) tongue prevailed over the Norman-French of William the Conqueror (although the Acts of Parliament were *written* in French until the reign of Henry VII*), so the vernacular Welsh held its own

* The Acts of Parliament were *written* in French until the fourth year of Henry VII, but they were *printed* in *English* so early as the twelfth year of Edward IV, the date of the first introduction of printing into England by Caxton, after which date they are all in *English* in the "*Statutes at Large*." But copies of various Acts, still *written* in French, have been discovered in the *Petyt MS.* No. 8, Inner Temple Library, and in the *Hatton MS.* No. 10, Bodleian Library, and elsewhere, though the copies of the same Acts are *printed* in the "*Statutes at Large*." In the "*Statutes of the Realm*" (Rolls edition), 1816, both the written and the printed copies are given in parallel columns, with the account of the source from which the written copies had been obtained. The reason for the change, above two hundred years earlier from French to English, in conducting *legal proceedings* is amusingly described by Blackstone (*Commentary*, vol. 3, chap. xxi, "Issues and Demurrers," § 36 Edward III, c. 15):—"Legal proceedings were formerly all written, as, indeed, all public proceedings were, in Norman or *Law*

until Elizabeth ordered the translation of the Bible into the native tongue, and thus perpetuated it for three hundred years at any rate; and who can say whether it may not yet live for three hundred years more?

Henry VIII in his great Act of his 27th year of his reign—c. xxvi, s. 3—says “there are many Lordship’s marches within the Country of Wales *in which the Law cannot be used*, where murders and house-burnings, robberies and riots are committed with impunity, and felons

French, and even the arguments of counsel and decisions of the Court were in the same *barbarous dialect*, an evident and shameful badge, it must be owned, of tyranny and foreign servitude, being introduced under the auspices of William the Norman and his sons. . . . This continued till the reign of Edward III” [—seventh in descent from that same William the Norman—], “who, having employed his arms successfully in subduing the crown of France, *thought it unbecoming the dignity of the victors* to use any longer the language of a conquered country.”

In his thirty-sixth year he therefore [Query: Was that the real reason? See the Act itself.] passed an Act enacting that in future all the *pleadings* should be in the *English* tongue, but the *judgments* should be recorded for future use “enrolled” in Latin, as being the most exact language and the one most universally known, and this system continued until the time of George II, when another Act was passed (4 George II, c. 26) enacting that the *records*, as well as all other legal proceedings, should be in English, and neither in *barbarous* French nor in *Law Latin*. We are to understand from Blackstone, that it was his patriotic, self-respecting, national spirit which induced Edward to make the change from French to English; but the preamble of his Act itself gives a much more prosaic version of the change. It simply says:—“Because the Prelates, Nobles, and Commons have *often told the king* what mischief happens because when people get into court they cannot understand what is said either for or against them (all the proceedings in the court being in an *unknown language*—French), and they ought to have the chance of knowing what is going on concerning them, *therefore the king, desiring the good government of his people*, and to avoid mischief happening to them [—not, it seems, to get rid of the affront of the country having been conquered by his own ancestor above two hundred and fifty years previously—], enacted that in future *legal proceedings* should be in a language that his people understood,” viz., in English; but no such Act is recorded for changing the French of the *Acts of Parliament* into English. It would appear as if, after the invention of printing, the Acts of Parliament were still *written* in *French* under the influence of habit and routine, but were at the same time *printed* in *English* for convenience of use. In course of time convenience gradually prevailed over routine, and writing dropped out of use entirely (so far as is yet known) after the fourth of Henry VII. (See vol. ii, p. 499, *Statutes of the Realm*, Rolls edition.)

are received and escape from justice by going from one Lordship to another."

The origin of such a condition of things dates far back in Welsh History, for there were from unknown times five so-called "ROYAL TRIBES" supposed to be of kingly descent. Of these one, in North Wales, was considered the head;* of whom Llewelyn (killed in battle by Edward I) was the last representative; and the rest (almost exclusively in South Wales) paid him tribute and fealty,† when he was strong enough to enforce it. From one of these or from other unrecorded sources "fifteen Tribes" exclusively in North Wales, took their origin, and maintained their tribal sovereignty by incessant fighting. The custom of the country of Wales was that land was divided among the sons at the father's death, and that manors also could be willed at pleasure. The consequence is thus described by

* The *five Royal Tribes*, and the respective representatives of each, were considered as of Royal blood. The *fifteen Common Tribes*, all of North Wales, formed the Nobility and Lords of North Wales, and have been hereditary officers of the *Palace*. Gruffudd ap (son of) Cynan, Prince of N. Wales, Rhys ap Tewdwr of S. Wales, and Bledyn ap Cynfyn of Powys regulated both these classes, but did not create them, as many of the persons placed at their head lived before their time, and some after. The last of them were created by Dafydd ap Owain Gwynedd, who began his reign in 1169—time of Henry II. We are left ignorant of the form by which they were called to this rank. Mr. Vaughan, of Hengwrt, informs us that the three above-named searched carefully after the Arms, Ensigns, and Pedigrees of their ancestors, the Nobility and Kings of the Britons. What they discovered in any papers or records was afterwards digested by the *Bards*, and put into books, and *they ordained* [apparently the Herald's office of the period] *five Royal Tribes*, there being only *three* before, from whom their posterity to this day can derive themselves; and also fifteen special Tribes, of whom the gentry in N. Wales are for the most part descended.

† Gruffudd ap Cynan, the great-great-great-grandson of Roderick the Great, had not the *principality* of the North alone, but the *supremacy* of Wales vested in him; for it was the condition of Roderick the Great in the tripartiture (division among the then *three* Royal Tribes) and confirmed by his grandson Hywel Dhu (the traditional representative among the Welsh of the "good King Edward" of the Saxons) that the Princes of South Wales and Powys should be tributary to the North. The tribute which each was to pay yearly (called Maelged) was Sixty-three pounds.—Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, pp. 1, 2.

the noted historian of Welsh genealogies, Philip Yorke, Esq., of Erthig, himself a Welshman, and M.P. for Grant-ham in 1780. "The story of our country under its native *Princes* is," he says, "a wretched calendar of crimes, of usurpations and of family assassinations. Our law of distribution—the law of gavelkind—balanced the power and raised the competition of the younger branches against the elder: a Theban war of Welsh brethren, ending in family blood and national destruction."

On this state of affairs Lord Justice Lyttleton, in the reign of Edward IV says: "What aggravated this mischief was another ancient custom which prevailed among the chieftains and *kings** of Wales of sending out their infant sons to be nursed and bred up in different families of their principal nobles or gentlemen,† from whence it ensued that each of these *foster* fathers, attaching himself with a strong affection to the child he had reared, and being incited by his own interest to desire his advancement above his brothers, endeavoured to procure it by all means in his power. Then as most of their *kings* cohabited with several women and had many children, several parties were formed among the nobility, which breaking out at their deaths involved their *kingdoms* in blood and confusion.

* The Italics are by the author of this paper, because of their bearing on the curious questions considered in Chapter IX, pp. 146-160.

† This custom continued in use until the middle of last century. Thomas Pennant was born about the middle of the reign of George II. His parents were wealthy and occupied a position in the county. In accordance with the ancient custom, he was put out to nurse at a neighbouring farm house, and his foster parents, *who were persons of great respectability*, were fond of their office, *which was looked upon as a special honour*. This custom unquestionably had some advantages. It helped to strengthen the attachment with which the gentry were regarded, and *it facilitated their acquisition of the language of their countrymen*, a matter of much social and no little political importance, beside making them practically acquainted with the wants, and disposed to sympathise with the hardships of the humblest classes of the community."—Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, vol. i, pp. xxi-xxii (Rhys ed.).

Minors were never allowed to reign, but it often happened that when a *Prince*, excluded in his infancy, attained to manhood, he then aspired to the *throne* he had lost on account of his nonage, and formed a party to assist him in these pretensions." (Yorke, pp. 40, 41.)

To put a stop to such a condition of family feuds and national injury, Henry VIII passed an Act in the 27th year of his reign (27 Henry VIII, c. 26, s. 2) which enacted that all lands, manors and hereditaments, &c., should in future be inheritable "after the English Tenure" (primogeniture) and "without division or partition, and not after any Welsh Tenure, nor after the form of any *Welsh Law* or *Custom*" (*i.e.* of dividing landed property). He thus abolished the Law or Custom of Gavelkind in Wales.

The following Illustrations of *Welsh Family Feuds*, *Foster Relationships*, and *Intestine Warfare*, above alluded to, taken from Sir J. Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family* (pages 48 to 82) exhibit the indispensable necessity for such laws as Henry VIII enacted.

Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, my ancestor (writes Sir John) was a most goodly man of personage, and most valiant withal. He was a Lancastrian in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and besides the turmoil abroad he sustayned deadly feud at home—a warre more dangerous than the others. His sister having married Howell ap Rhys, died, and Howell then married Tudor ap Griffith's daughter, a courageous and stirring woman who never gave over to make debate between her husband, Howell, and his brother-in-law, my ancestor. Either made as many friends as he could and many men were slayne, but commonly the loss fell on Howell his side.

On one occasion Jevan returning home on horseback with his followers, and suspecting no danger, was shot at by some unseen foe hidden in a wood on the hill side. He and his six men immediately shot, on chance, in the direction from which the arrow had come, and, as it soe happened, killed the man who had shot it. Howell then, and especially his wife, "boiling with rage," laid another plot to kill

Jevan, and sent all round the country to assemble their friends and allies. Amongst these was a notable outlaw, David ap Jenkin, a near kinsman of Howell, a man of great valour, and having also a band of men outlawed like himself for murder and other crimes. It was known that at a near time Jevan would leave home to go to the Assizes at Carnarvon, and this was the time fixed upon for the assault. Jevan, like all his neighbours (as was the custom at the time) (see page 103) had a number of outlaws harboured and concealed in his strong house (see page 89), and as they were all outlawed for murders or other hanging offences, the pretext affected was that Howell and his confederates should attack the house, and capture these outlaws and convey them to Carnarvon to be hanged. The assembled band gathered round Jevan's house without the inmates having had any warning, and on reaching it saw no one about; but on forcing the door the servants, who happened to be in the hall, showed fight and raised the alarm. The secreted outlaws "were awoke" by the uproar and quickly rushed from their places of concealment, and fought vigorously against Howell and his men, being led on by one Robin ap Inko, Jevan's *foster brother* (see page 95), and a well-known man of might. It happened also at the time of the alarm that Jevan's wife was watching the maid boiling the wort for making metheglin (a kind of Welsh beer), and with the boiling liquor she also wrought valiantly, putting to flight some who had got into the house and hindering others from entering. The first assailants being thus killed or driven back, it was more easy to defend the strong house than to carry it, though many breaches were made in it by the attackers; but in the meantime the crie had been raised in the country and Jevan's friends were coming to the rescue. The assault was continued all through the day and the night, but in the morning David ap Jenkin of Howell's band parleyed with Robin ap Inko of Jevan's, who advised them to retire whilst they could, for, said he, as soon as the tide would permit, Jevan's friends would arrive in numbers, and they would then be all slayne. David therefore advised his cosen Howell to take Jevan to be his friend and neighbour in the future; for, said he, I will not come with thee to invade this man's house when he is at home, since I find such hot resistance in his absence (pages 44 to 56).

This woman (Howell's wife) *caused the parson of Llanwrothen to be murdered because he had fostered to my ancestor*, but God so wrought that the murtherers being three brethren were all slayne

afterwards by my ancestor in revenge of the parson's unworthy death. But the plague taking away my ancestor ended the strife between them (my ancestor and his brother-in-law Howell), which was likely, if he had lived, to have ended in the death of one of them or both, soe bloody and ireful were quarrelles in those days, and the revenge of the sword at such libertie; as almost nothing was punished by law whatsoever happened (pages 51 and 61).

The cause of this mortal hatred between them (my ancestor and Howell) grewe (as it is reported) in this sorte: *John ap Meredith* and Howell were ever highly at variance; and my ancestor having been brought up with John ap Meredith, his cosen, affected him best, though allied nearly to the other (who was his brother-in-law); which was taken so heinously by Howell that he turned the summe of his rancor upon his brother-in-law (my ancestor), and this quarrell never ended, though my ancestor was dead, till the sonnes of John ap Meredith, with their cosen Griffith ap Gronw assaulted the house of the said Howell, when the said Gruffith was slayne. Whereupon the said Howell was faine to leave the country to avoid the *furie of the revengement of blood* (page 51).

The following detailed account of a house assault in those days, is given by Sir J. Wynn in the same *History*. (Pages 67-8):—

Griffith ap John ap Gronw (cosin German to John ap Meredith's sons) had long served in the warres in France, and returning to live in Wales some fish were taken away from his servant as he was bringing them home, and the man was beaten by Howell ap Rhys's servants, and at his command. Griffith took the matter in such dudgeon that he challenged Howell to the field, which he refusing, Griffith summoned John ap Meredith's sonnes and his friends, and they assaulted Howell's house after the manner Griffith had seen in the French warres, that is, they set fire to all the out-houses and barnes to begin with. But while so engaged Griffith was shot from the house (which was very strong) by one of Howell's party through the eye of his beaver, which was the only weak spot in his armour, and was killed. Notwithstanding his death the assault on the house was continued, and great quantities of straw were brought to the door and set on fire to burn it, and so force an entrance. The inmates of the house were nearly choked by the

smoke and lay down on the floor or under benches, &c., to avoid it, but the old man, Howell ap Rhys, stood up boldly and upbraided them, saying he had seen more smoke than that in the Hall on a Christmas Eve. In the end, however, the house could no longer be defended, and Howell consented to surrender if Meredith's eldest son, Morris ap Meredith, would swear to take him safe to Carnarvon Castle to be tried there by law for having caused the death of Griffith ap Gronw. Morris ap Meredith thereupon put a guard about Howell and his friends and servants, and thus defended them from the rage of his own (the Meredith) faction, and especially from the fury of Owen ap Meredith, his younger brother. They journeyed leisurely to Carnarvon *like an armed camp*, for they were in great fear lest they should be murdered by the Meredith faction in spite of Morris's oath of safe conduct. In the end they reached Carnarvon safely, and Howell was delivered up to the Governor of the Castle for trial at the assizes. When, however, the trial came on it fell out by law that the setting fire to Howell's house by the Merediths, the assailants, was a worse offence than the killing of Griffith by the Howells, the defenders—whereupon Morris ap Meredith with thirty-five more of his party were indicted of felonie. The result to the Meredith party is not narrated, but Howell was set at liberty. He, however, did not dare to return to his own house for fear of the "furie of the revengement of blood," but he took shelter among his mother's kindred at Penmachno, near Llanrwst, and there died; and his family decayed little by little ever after, and none of his posterity has been buried in Howell's own place of sepulture.

Though bloodthirsty vengeance seems thus to have been common at this period, drunkenness and gambling do not appear to have been the fashion among the squirearchy; for Sir J. Wynn seldom if ever alludes to gambling; and in his narrative, he goes on to say (p. 58):—

The fashion was in those days that gentlemen and their retainers met commonly every day to shoot matches, &c. There was noe gentleman of worth in the country but had a wine cellar of his owne, which wine was sold to his profit. Thither came his friends to meete him, and there spent the day in shooting, wrestling, throwing the

sledge, and other actes of activity, and drinking very moderately withall—not according to the healthing, see p. 102 (health-toasting), and gluttonous manner of our dayes.*

Sir J. Wynn does not directly mention the lower classes in Wales when speaking of moderation in drinking as being the general rule among the gentry at that time; but from *The Welshman's Candle*, published some time after his date by the Rev. Rhys Pritchard (Vicar of Llandovery, in South Wales), drunkenness would seem to have been limited in extent,† and held in contempt among them as well as among the gentry.

The Farmer, but as yesterday

Unused to drink, now topes away.—(p. 32, v. 20.)

And again,

Scarce none got drunk but vagabonds of yore,

And the *most vile* amongst the canting sort;

But now there's no room vacant for the poor.

So thick their betters to the Inns resort.—(p. 182, v. 25.)

Such an allusion to “Inns” in Wales is not met with early in Sir J. Wynn's History, but in 1551, the fifth year

* Sir J. Wynn never gives dates, and it is very difficult to fix them, but the time of which he was writing would seem to have been in Henry VII's reign.

† An incidental illustration of the absence of *ale*-drinking among the Welsh, so far back as the time of Edward I, is given in Yorke's account of one of the Welsh expeditions for performing feudal homage to Edward I.: “In the year 1277 (five years before Llewelyn's death in battle) the Barons of Snowdon, with other noblemen of Wales, had attended Llewelyn to London, when he came thither at Christmas to do homage to Edward for the four cantreds of Rhôs, Rhyfroniag, Tegenglo, and Dyffryn-Ciwyd, and bringing, according to their usual custom, large retinues with them, were quartered at Islington and the neighbouring villages. These places did not afford *milk* for such numerous trains, and they liked neither the wines nor the *ale* of London; and though plentifully entertained, were much disgusted at the new manner of living, which did not suit their taste. Their pride, too, was disgusted by the perpetual staring of the Londoners, who followed them in crowds to gaze at their uncommon garb. ‘No,’ cried the indignant Britons, ‘we never again will visit Islington, except as conquerors;’ and from that instant they resolved to take up arms against Edward.”—(Yorke's *Royal Tribes*, pp. 74-75).

of Edward VI, c. xxv, an Act of Parliament was passed enacting that in future only persons licensed by two justices, and paying twelvecence per annum, should sell ale or beer, or keep an ale-house, or a so-called "tippling house," under a penalty of twenty shillings fine. And for permitting drunkenness, or disorders, or gambling, the licensed person was liable to a fine of £3 6s. 8d.

The moral and social *sequel** seems from the same authority to have been very disastrous to the social habits of Welshmen; at any rate drunkenness, gambling, and profanity appear to have largely increased.

'Tis bad to see a judge disguised with beer,
Or find the gentry sprawling in the street!
A drunken giant is a sight to fear;
But 'tis far worse, a drunken priest to meet.

(p. 183, v. 26.)

The apparent rush to obtain licenses is pictured in the following verses:—

Our common mechanics of every employ,
Must all leave their callings whereat they have been,
Nay, they that good farms and large tenures enjoy,
Would fain do the like, and be *keeping an Inn*.
Their spinning and carding our matrons give o'er;
To brew, they their knitting and sewing lay by;
They sell all their wheels and their reels, and such store,
Casks and bottles, and such sort of lumber to buy.
The murderer, the stroller, the pimp, and the knave,
The robber, the thief, and the clerk, we are told,
Nay—women are suffered a license to have;
Beer, ale and tobacco, to vend uncontrouled.
In the morn, e'er they dine, some will smoke and will drink
As much at a time as would surfeit a score,
Then vomit the load back again, and ne'er think,
That poverty ever will knock at the door.

*I have not indisputable data for saying more than "sequence," not "consequence."

Should the De'il or his Dam ever have a desire
 A temple near that of our Maker's to raise,
 They, for a *mere trifle*, a temple might hire,
 Expressly devoted to Bacchus's praise.

(pp. 312, 316, vv. 20 to 23, and v. 52).

These licenses, granted, as it would appear, at this date (James I) even to the lowest classes in the social scale, are continually alluded to in the *Welshman's Candle* as being simple dens of gambling, profligacy, and immorality of every description.

I have not been able to find what brought in the custom of "Health Drinking" (p. 100), or when it first became common in Wales, but the *Candle for Welshmen* speaks of it strongly as a great evil:—

Respect thy betters when they are in place,
 But still respect thyself by drinking nought.
 If thou *by bumpers* think'st to do *them* grace,
 By gracing them *thou'lt to disgrace* be brought.

'Tis a sad "Health"—a health replete with ill—
 To drink what gives thee neither health nor joy;
 I ne'er shall pledge the "Health" come what come will
 That shall in any shape my own destroy.

(p. 181, vv. 10, 11.)

The result of one of the festive shooting gatherings described in Sir J. Wynn's *Gwydir Hist.* presents a striking picture of the social condition of Wales at that time, and its apparently hopeless lawlessness.

Howell ap Rhys had laid a plot for the murder of his *brother-in-law*, Jevan ap Robert ap Meredith, and sent *one of his brothers* to spy out the route that Jevan would take in coming to the meeting the following day. He then provided a man to commit the murder, but told him to be specially careful to keep his eye upon Robin ap Inco, who was *foster-brother* to Jevan, and was incessantly caring for Jevan's safety. Jevan according to appointment went next day with his ordinary *company* to the meete at his relative's, John ap

Meredith, for "you are to understand," says Sir J. Wynn, "that in those days, and in that wild worlde every man stood upon his guard, and went not abroad but in sorte, and soe armed as if he went to the field to encounter his enemies." (Page 59). Howell's sister, being Jevan's wife, accompanied her husband about a mile on his way to the meeting, and then returned home. But on her way back she met her brother (Howell) on horseback with a great company of armed followers riding after her husband as fast as they could. On this she cried out upon her brother "for the love of God not to harm her husband, who meant him (Howell) noe harme," and she tried to catch his bridle, but he avoided her. Then she did catch his horse's tail and clung to it until Howell struck at her arm with his sword, and made her loose hold. She then rushed to a narrow plank-bridge across a stream that Howell must pass, and reaching it before him she tore off the hand-rail and struck at him with such furie that she would have killed him had he not avoided the blow, and then with his company eventually overtook Jevan and his company. A fierce fight ensued, and many were "knocked down" before the man appointed to do the murder saw a favourable opportunity, at a time when Jevan was somewhat separated from his followers. But just as he thrust himself forward, and struck with his sword at Jevan, Robin ap Inco, before mentioned (Jevan's *foster-brother*) who was still on the look-out for Jevan's safety anticipated him and killed the intending murderer, which Howell perceiving, cried to his people, "Let us away and be gone, for I had given chardge that Robin ap Inco should have been better looked to." So that quarrel broke with the hurt of many and the death of that one man. (Page 61).

It was the custom in those dayes that the murtherer only—he that gave the death wound—should flye for his life. He was called in Welsh a Llawrudd, which is a red-hand (Llaw *hand*, Rudd *red*), because he had blouDED his hand. The accessories and abettors of the murtherers were never harkened after. (Page 61).

In those days in Chirkeland and Oswaldstreland,* two sects or kindred contended for the *Sovereignty* of the countrie, and were at continual strife, one with another—the Kyffins and Trevors—they had their alliances, partizans, and friends in all the countries round about (see page 97), to whom, *as the manner of the time was*, they sent such of their followers as committed murther or manslaughter,

* The districts surrounding Chirk and Oswestry.

which were safely kept *as very precious jewels*; and they received like murderers and outlaws from their friends.

These kind of people were stowed in the day time in chambers in their houses, and in the night went to make merrie to the next wine house that belonged to the gentleman, or to his tenant not farre off. Meredith ap Howell, at that time the Chief of the Kyffins, was related to the above Jevan ap Robert, who desired his help to catch the murtherers and the band, and Meredith devised a scheme for taking them unawares which succeeded, and he caught two of them, but Howell ap Rhys' wife got scent of the plan and the crie was raised, "*The Trevors to their friends, and the Kyffins to their leaders,*" and Meredith then told Jevan it was no use taking the murderers or their friends to Chirk Castle for justice or punishment; for they would only be fined £5 each all round for the Lordship Marcher (see page 154), and would then be set free. "A damnable custom" adds Sir J. Wynn, (page 63) "used in those days in the Lordships Marches, which continued until the new ordinance of Henry VIII." [This "New Ordinance" is considered in detail in a future portion of this paper (pp. 154, 155).]

Howell Vaughan's grandmother (a different Howell from the foregoing one), was Jevan ap Meredith's sister. A certain John Owen had killed Howell, and was cousin German to my grandmother. In respect of the feud of my grandfather he could not abide any descendant of Owen, neither could she abide any of Owen's kindred of Berkin. She had put her hand upon Howell's head to save it from the death wound, and had half of her hand and three of her fingers cut off. Howell survived his wound a few days, and on his death bed said this quarrel should never be ended while his mother lived and had her hand to look on, which was true, for she succeeded in obtaining the capture of Owen, whose life was saved with difficulty, but he remained in prison in Carnarvon till she died seven years afterwards. After her death, however, *the feud was compounded for* (which was common in Wales before Henry VIII's statute). "I write this," says Sir John Wynn, "to show the manifold divisions in those days among so private friends."—Page 77.

It would appear that it was not always safe to go even to church, any more than to a festive gathering, without armed followers, of which the following account is an illustration.

Meredith, great grandfather to Sir J. Wynn, was *taken to nurse* by an honest freeholder in the hundred of Yscorum, and owner of Creigiau in Llanvaire, and the best man in the parish, and having no children of his own, he *gave his inheritance to his foster-child* (page 95), whom he also sent for education in *English and Latin* ("a matter of great moment of those days") to Carnarvon, which then flourished, especially because the King's Exchequer, Chancery and Common Law Courts, for all North Wales, were continually there. By this means civility and learning flourished in that town, so as they were called *the Lawyers of Carnarvon, the Merchants of Beaumaris, and the Gentlemen of Conway*. I have heard divers learned in the laws report, that the records of the King's Courts kept in Carnarvon in those days were as orderly and formally kept as those in Westminster.

At a later date, Meredith became possessed of the Castle of Dolwyddelan, in Carnarvonshire, with its surroundings, and its parish church, which he pulled down and removed, and re-built "very strongly," near this still habitable though partially ruined Castle, and he also built a new house for himself, each about a mile apart, but so arranged as mutually to overlook and to protect each other. "On questioning my uncle," says Sir John, "what should move him to demolish the old church which stood in a thickete, and build it in a plaine, stronger and greater than it was before, his answer was that he had reasons for the same, because the country was wild, and he might be oppressed by his enemies on a sudden in that woody country, and it therefore was policie to have divers places of retreat. Certaine it was that he durst not go to church on a Sunday from his house, but he must leave the same guarded with men, and have the doores sure barred and bouted, and a watchman to stand during divine service on the Garreg-big, which was a rock whence he might see both the church and the house, and raise the crie if the house was assaulted. He durst not, although he were guarded by twenty tall archers make known when he went to church or elsewhere, or goe and come back the same way through the woods and narrow places, lest he should be layed for." (pp. 80-82).

Family feuds and their paltry causes, though their fatal results (p. 76).

"Meredith being questioned by his friends why he meant to leave his ancient house, and live in Nant Conway *swarming with*

thieves, answered that he had rather fight with outlaws and thieves than with his owne blood and kindred; for if I live in my house in Evioneth I must either kill mine owne kinsmen or be killed by them. Wherein he said very true, as the people were in those days.* for John Owen ap Meredith, in his father's time killed Howell Vaughan, of Berkin, for *noe other quarrell but for the mastery of the country, and for the first "good morrow."* In which tragedy Meredith had likely beene an actor if he had lived there, for the reasons aforesaid.

The dangers arising from ambuscades in woods, and great forests in Wales. The allusions in Henry VIII's Acts of Parliament to these, and his special Act, 27 Henry VIII, c. vii., are scarcely intelligible in the present day when forests are anything but common in that country. But the following account taken from Sir J. Wynn (pp. 74-76), gives a lively picture of the condition of the country in that respect, previous to and during the Tudor period.

A certain outlaw named Howell having been obliged to escape from the country in the time of Henry VII, returned after a period during the summer time with his followers, whom he clothed in *green*, and dispersed here and there among his friends, lurking by day, and only coming out by night for fear of their adversaries. Such of the country people as then happened to see him or his followers said they were fairies, and ran away in fear. All the whole country then was but a forrest, and then waste of inhabitants, and all overgrown with woods: for Owen Glendwr's warres beginning in 1400, continued 15 years, which brought such desolation that green grass grew in the Market Place at Llanrwst, and the deere fed in the Churchyard. This desolation arose from Owen's policie to bring all things to waste that the English should find no strength nor resting place, and the warres of York and Lancaster happening some 15 years afterwards, the country was brought to utter desolation by first one side and then the other, so that in those days the country of Nant Conway, and all Carnarvon, Merioneth and Denbigh shires seemed to be one forrest having but few inhabitants, though Nant Conway was the worst of all, having been the chief seat of warre.

(* Early in Henry VII's reign).

From the towne of Conway to Bala, and from Nant Conway to Denbigh, there was continually fostered a wasp's nest which troubled the whole country. I mean a Lordship belonging to St. John's of Jerusalem, called Spytty Jevan, a large thing which had privilege of Sanctuary. This peculiar jurisdiction, *not governed by the King's lawes*, became a receptacle of thieves and murtherers, who being safely warranted there thoroughly peopled the place. No spot within twenty miles was safe from their incursions and robberies, and what they got within their limits was their owne. They had to their backstay friends and receptors in all the County of Merioneth and Powisland (chiefly Montgomeryshire), and these helping the former desolations and preying upon the next neighbours, kept most part of that country all waste and without inhabitants.

Gangs of Banditti and the Massacre of Judge Owen.

Another striking illustration of the lawless condition of Wales in the Tudor period is furnished by the fate of Judge Owen, in 1554. There was a specially noted gang of Banditti called the "Gwylliad Cochion Mawddwy," "The red haired, night marauders of Mawddwy," and the ordinary authorities having proved powerless to suppress them, the Government issued a Commission to John Wynn and Judge Lewis Owen, to deal with them, and eighty of the gang were captured and convicted. The mother of two of them made an earnest but fruitless appeal to Judge Owen to pardon one of them, and then turning upon him and baring her breasts, she exclaimed "these breasts have given suck to those who shall washe their hands in your blood." As the judge was afterwards on his way from Montgomery Assizes, he was waylaid by a portion of the gang still uncaptured, who cut down trees and blocked the way, and attacked him and his escort with flights of arrows by which he was killed, having thirty wounds on his dead body. One of the gang afterwards turned back and did wash his hands in the judge's blood. This sanguinary attack roused the Government to such

action that the whole gang was at last completely extirpated. (Yorke, *Royal Tribes*, p. 113). The javelin men who now form merely an ornamental and ceremonial escort to the judges when going to and from the Assize Courts, were thus evidently a necessity for the safety of the king's officers when travelling in the discharge of their dangerous duties in Wales at any rate: and with this illustration may be closed this "picture of the *social* condition of Wales in the Tudor period."

CHAPTER V.—RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF WALES DURING THE TUDOR PERIOD.

The date of the first introduction of Christianity and the founder of the Christian Church in Wales are matters of uncertainty, and took place before there are any unquestionable historical records, but there are traditions that it was first preached in Britain by the Apostle St. Paul himself, or one of his immediate disciples, and it is certain that *British* Christianity originally came from the East, and not from Rome.

It flourished richly in the religious soil of the Celtic people, and there were many early Welsh Saints* whose names are still kept alive both in Wales and in England by the dedication to them of churches in both countries. One large Christian Monastery or College containing above two thousand Monks, Clergy, Teachers, and Students existed at Bangor-is-y-Coed, on the Dee, about ten miles from Chester, but it was totally destroyed by the Saxons in A.D. 613,† and the Celtic or British Church

* *Lives of Welsh Saints*, Liverpool Free Library. E. 3319.

† A very interesting account of this celebrated Monastery, and its destruction by the Saxons, is given by Mr. Willoughby Gardner, in a paper in the *Liverpool Lit. and Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1887-88. Also Pennant's *Tour through North Wales*, vol. i, p. 285 (Rhys' Ed.). For the Saxon version of the story see Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*, Bk. ii, chap. 2, p. 68 (Bohn's ed.).

never fully recovered from that calamity. The Saxons, when they first came to England, and gradually drove the Britons before them into the fastnesses of Wales, were Pagans, and when they were afterwards converted to Christianity by St. Augustine, who was sent by Pope Gregory I (the Great) from Rome, in the sixth century (A.D. 597) they adopted the Roman forms instead of the *Eastern* ones which prevailed among the Welsh or ancient Britons. These differences between the ancient Britons and the invading Saxons related chiefly to the time of keeping Easter; but when they were added to the previous national hatred, they resulted in rancorous diversity between the two nations, which ended in the Saxons—the English—ultimately gaining the victory, from which time it may be said that the Roman form of Christianity was the prevalent, and eventually the only one in Wales as well as in England. So it continued until the time of Henry VIII and the Reformation; the memory of the Early British Church being however still kept alive, chiefly by the dedication of churches in Wales to the old Welsh Saints, and by the retention of a few ceremonies which had not been matters of mortal controversy.

The Religious Condition of Wales during the Tudor Period was very dark. The Rev. Griffith Roberts, a Canon of Milan, but a native of North Wales, and a learned man, wrote at this time :—

I hear that there are many places in Wales, yea whole counties without one Christian in them, living like beasts and not knowing anything good, and in those places where they are Christians they are only those who are common and poor who follow Christ. The gentry and the wealthy are without thought of faith in the world. In England the gentry are often good, and show a good example in life and faith: the Welsh gentry give example to the poor and common people to be without any faith or conscience. Therefore

they will have to render an account in the day of reckoning, not only for their own shortcomings, but for their want of good example.

Henry VIII had seized and appropriated the revenues of many of the Welsh monasteries, and disposed of others as gifts or at low prices to his great nobles and favourites, and the monks and parish clergy, who were the only religious teachers of the time, were driven into exile or reduced to great poverty, while no body of spiritual men arose to replace them. To such straits were the Bishops driven to find ministers at all, that Archbishop Parker issued an order in 1560 forbidding them from continuing to ordain *Mechanics*, "many of whom by reason of their ignorance or want of grave behaviour rendered themselves despised or hated by the people." (Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii, ch. iv, p. 90.) The Vicarages and Rectories had become so impoverished by the alienations of the tithes that it became customary for one minister to hold several (so called) "livings" at the same time in order to obtain from the whole combined a miserable pittance,* and the Bishoprics themselves had become so impoverished that previous to Morgan's nomination to Llandaff, before his nomination to St. Asaph, the Bishopric had been vacant for three years, because no one could afford to take it.

The evil condition of affairs is, however, perhaps most forcibly illustrated by the conduct which even good men at that period thought permissible and practised. Bishop

* Within my own recollection the Vicar of a parish in South Wales, in which for a time my family was residing, held three "livings" at the same time. They were twenty miles apart, and the only means of going from one to another was on horseback across mountain roads—if the weather or the floods would permit of this—and the total value of the three was £80 a year. Even until recently the Bishopric of Llandaff was so poor that the Bishop was always made Dean of St. Paul's as well, and generally also a Canon of some other Cathedral, in order that the combined revenues might supply a sufficient income; and although this multiplication of offices no longer now exists, the income of the Welsh Bishops is made up by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from *English*, not from Welsh funds.—J. B. N.

William Hughes, Morgan's predecessor at St. Asaph, whose life and conduct showed him to be a man of high character, held sixteen "livings" in addition to the Bishopric. And what, it may be asked, did this really mean? The Bishopric was then worth £187 a year, ten of the livings had no cure of souls attached to them, and averaged £15 a year each, and the other six produced about £25 a year each. Out of this combined amount—less than £500 a year—Hughes left money for the endowment of the Grammar School at St. Asaph,* and he assisted Morgan materially in various ways in the production of his Welsh Bible. Such was the state of society and the laxity of religious opinion that of one hundred and thirty-four clergy in the diocese of St. Asaph in 1587 (during Elizabeth's time), there were only three who resided on their livings, and hardly any one could preach in Welsh.† Bishop Morgan himself held two vicarages and three rectories, in all of which, however, he is believed to have officiated himself, and he spent so much of his income in restoring the roof of the Cathedral, which was almost a ruin, and in restoring other dilapidations also, that "he died a poor man," according to the testimony of Sir J. Wynn in his *Gwydir History*.

So completely would it seem that the conception at that time respecting church property was that it was something to be scrambled for by clergy and laymen alike, that the last days of Bishop Morgan were troubled by bitterness and a controversy with Sir J. Wynn, relating to the tithes of a parish that Sir John desired to purchase at what the Bishop thought to be only half its value, and which would so far have impoverished the See for his

* Owing to some circumstances this bequest did not take effect after his death.

† *Life of B. Morgan*, S.P.C.K., p. 123.

successor. The Bishop, therefore, refused to allow the sale, and in the correspondence that passed between them we seem to see a man, rich and powerful, and in some respects worthy of esteem, eagerly grasping for church revenues at a cheap rate, as if they were his unquestionable due from the Bishop in return for former good offices that he (Sir John) considered he had conferred upon the Bishop.

The following detailed picture of Welshmen of every degree as drawn by the Welsh Vicar in his *Candle for Welshmen* in 1629, confirms to the fullest extent the broader sketch made by the Welsh Canon of Milan nearly a century previously (pp. 31, 32, v. 22, 19, 20, and pp. 321, 322, v. 5-11).

I blush the vices to display
 We *Welshmen* act in open day,
 And grieve our immoralities to shew:
 Yet 'tis my duty to reflect
 Should I the unwelcome task reject
 That God will bring them all to public view.

The priest, the farmer, and the hind,
 With artizans of every kind,
 The Bailiff,* Judge, and Gentleman each strives
 With most amazing insolence
 Which shall the Godhead most incense.
 Nor can I say who worst among them lives.

In indolence the clergy live;
 The venial judges bribes receive;
 The gentry tippie at each paltry inn.
 The farmer, but as yesterday
 Unused to drink, now topos away,
 And smokes his tube as if it were no sin.

* The Head Official in the Corporations in Wales.

There's not a hamlet to be found,
 Or petty village all around,
 But that some monstrous crime appears
 Therein, to din the Godhead's ears.

There's no profession you can name
 That has not highly been to blame;
 As if with all its might it strove
 To pull down vengeance from above.

Our gentry now so selfish grown,
 Seek no man's profits but their own;
 Our clergy sleep both night and day,
 And leave their flocks to roam astray.

The judge and magistrate from fear
 The murderer and sot forbear;
 And leave each tyrant to oppress
 The fatherless without redress.

The sheriffs and their cormorant train
 On the fleeced populace distrain;
 And under veil of justice prey
 Upon their wealth in open day.

Welsh Sabbath Day.—(p. 448; vv. 19-21.)

Of all the days throughout the rolling year,
 There's not a day we pass so much amiss;
 There's not a day whereon we all appear
 So irreligious, so profane as this.

A day for drunkenness—a day for sport,
 A day to dance—a day to lounge away—
 A day for riot and excess too short
 Amongst most Welshmen is the Sabbath Day.

A day to sit—a day in chat to spend—
 A day when fighting 'mongst us most prevails—
 A day to do the errands of the fiend—
 Such is the Sabbath in most parts of Wales.

The impoverished and illiterate, and in many respects
 morally debased condition of many of the Clergy *at that*

time is forcibly depicted in many of his pages, while the portrait of what a clergyman should be, as given in his poem, "The Duty of Clergymen" (pp. 452-457), is one of the noblest and most beautiful conceptions to be met with in any author; and the Vicar would appear, from the records of his life, to have carried it out consistently in his own character. His estimate of the essentials of a Christian Minister, whether rich or poor, and whether exemplary or faulty in his conduct, is also continually illustrated throughout his work.

Then to the Clergy cry amain,
 Due food unto thy soul to give:
 Since thou with tithes dost them maintain
 Bid them thy famished soul relieve.

Should some *poor* Curate, *mean in dress*,
 As Christ commands reprove thy ways,
 Though he his thoughts should *ill express*,
 Thou 'rt bound to do whate'er he says.

Mind not his person or address—
If well or meanly clad ne'er note,
 The gospel's merit is not less,
 Should he be clothed in homespun coat.

To *vices* should thy Pastor run—
 Yet, if his doctrine should be true,
 His *lessons* learn—his *manners shun*,
 E'en Paul and Peter's faults eschew.

Take pearls from toads—though venom-filled;
 Take gold from hands—though they're not clean,
 Take wine from casks—though dust defiled;
 Take knowledge e'en from lips obscene.

The Gospel of thy Saviour hear
 However *poor the preacher be*;
 The Word, if not the person hear,
 'Twas Christ himself that sent it thee.—(p. 24, vv. 45-52).

If there's no sermon to be found
Which thou in thine own Church mayst hear,
Go to the Churches all around,
And hear one every Sabbath there.—(p. 23, v. 41).

Or go to London, or to any where, where you *can* hear the Gospel.—(p. 23, v. 39).

Resort to charmers and to magic rites in sickness is dwelt upon,* and gambling,† the profanest swearing‡ and gross immorality§ in every rank, the highest as well as the lowest, are the constant themes of his lamentations; and were it not for some rare gleams of brightness, the verdict upon Wales at that date would be, from the picture he draws—

“There is none that doeth good, no, not one.”

Such a condemnation would doubtless, like Elijah's of old, be too sweeping; but the *Candle for Welshmen* was evidently lit in a very dark time, and brought to light much evil indeed—which, however, it also largely contributed to remove.

Such were the times when the *Bible* was translated into Welsh and this *Candle for Welshmen* was lighted; and the light which they diffused around will only be fully known at the last day, though it may be seen by every one who will look at the altered condition of that country in the present day, compared with its state during the Tudor period before its translation, and also until it had had time to become fully known.

* p. 349, vv. 28-35.

† p. 85, vv. 19-23. ‡ p. 193, v. 9; pp. 451 and 259.

§ p. 35, v. 41; p. 252, v. 68.

CHAPTER VI.—EDUCATIONAL CONDITION OF WALES DURING
THE TUDOR PERIOD.

The Colleges and Grammar Schools founded in that period.

The foregoing picture of the social and religious condition of Wales during the Tudor period, as derived from contemporary sources, seems almost irredeemably dark; but, although this picture has been drawn with strict adherence to the records of the time, it would not be wholly correct, if the casual gleams of light that sometimes appear for a moment in those records were totally omitted, though they are so slight and so little dwelt upon by the writers themselves as to pass almost unnoticed by the reader; and it is to much more recent sources that we must turn to find those rays so far focussed as to produce a distinct impression upon the mind. Here and there in the records of the time, the most incidental allusions are made to so-and-so having founded the Grammar School at such a place—and then the matter is dropped; but in 1832 the Government appointed a Commission to enquire into and report upon the Endowed Schools in Wales; and it is from its Reports, and from Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* that the following account is collected of all the schools founded, and of their founders, during the Tudor Period. Each of these schools would be a centre of learning, civilization and religion, even if a feeble one, to the regions lying around it; and as many, if not all of them, still give light in the present day, they certainly must not be overlooked in drawing the picture of that time which they helped to lighten a little, and thus to break the otherwise appalling gloom.

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN WALES DURING THE TUDOR PERIOD.

(HENRY VII TO ELIZABETH).

117

NAME OF SCHOOL.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	FOUNDED OR ENDOWED BY.	NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE FOUNDATION.	AUTHORITY.
*ABERGAVENNY... Monmouthshire.	1543	Henry VIII.	Grammar School for 18 boys.	Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. England</i> .
BANGOR "The Friars" School." Carnarvonshire.	1557 1609	Geoffrey Glynn, LL.D., Advocate in the Court of Arches; and in 1609, by Bishop Rowlands, of Bangor.	Grammar School for 100 children, "sons of poor people," and also special grants for 10 poor scholars, and two scholars in Jesus College, Oxford.	<i>Rep. Char. Com.</i> , vol. 52, 1834, p. 477. Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. Wales</i> .
RUTHIN Denbighshire.	1595	Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster.	Education of the boys born in Ruthin or Llancofaldan; and two exhibitions to Oxford or Cambridge—the master must be a Clergyman of the Church of England and Wales, and must be able to preach and teach in <i>Welsh</i> .	<i>Rep. Char. Com.</i> , vol. 27, 1838, pp. 84 to 90. Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. Wales</i> .
CARMARTHEN Carmarthenshire.	1576 1644 1676	Q. Elizabeth; and afterwards, in 1644, by Bishop Owen, Llandaff; and again, in 1676, by Archdeacon Jones, of Carmarthen.	Free Grammar School at first, and at the later date other "inferior" subjects were added to Latin, Greek and Mathematics. Also one exhibition at Jesus College, Oxford, and one in Queen's College, Cambridge.	<i>Rep. Char. Com.</i> , vol. 22, 1894, p. 634. Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. Wales</i> .
PRESTEIGN Brecknockshire.	1565 Reign of Q. Elizabeth.	John Beddowes, formerly a Clothier in the town.	Free Grammar School, for educating all the boys there, and "teaching them virtue and learning."	<i>Rep. Char. Com.</i> , vol. 28, 1838, p. 461. Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. Wales</i> .
BRECON Brecknockshire.	1283 1591	†Dr. Thomas Beck, Bishop of St. David's—His school was removed by Henry VIII to Brecon, in 1531.	Education of boys in Brecon; and Divinity Instruction for <i>young men</i> preparing for ordination without being in Oxford or Cambridge.	Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. Wales</i> .
COWERIDGE Glamorganshire.	Original date uncertain; finally settled in Cowbridge by Elizabeth.	†The original school is supposed to have been at Llantwit Major, which fell into decay, and was removed by Q. Elizabeth.	School education of 80 boys, and one exhibition, two scholarships, and two fellowships, at Jesus College, Oxford.	<i>Char. Com. Rep.</i> , vol. 27, 1838.
§OSWESTRY	Time of Henry IV.	David Holbecke.	Grammar School, free to all sons of parishioners.	Lewis's <i>Topog. Dict. Wales</i> .

* Monmouthshire was substantially a Welsh County at that date—see pp. 162, 163.
† The Ancient School, established by Bishop Beck, became the origin of the Monastery of Abernulle, which in time decayed, and the remnants of its property were granted, by Henry VIII, to found the Grammar School of Brecon.—Lewis's *Topog. Dict. Wales*.
‡ Llantwit Major was a School or College from the fifth century, and for many centuries was a place of great educational note; but it fell at last into insignificance and gradual decay, and was removed to Cowbridge by Q. Elizabeth.—Lewis's *Topog. Dict. Wales*.
§ Oswestry was in the Marches, not in Shropshire, to which County Henry VIII added it and Ellesmere, and several other specified places by his Act of his 27th year, thus enlarging that County.

Educational foundations (schools or colleges) in the Tudor Period, connected with Welsh interests :—

Christ College, Cambridge.	<i>Endowed by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Mother of Henry VII, in 1505.</i>
St. John's College,* „	Ditto in 1511.
Westminster School.	Elizabeth, in 1560.
Jesus College, Oxford.	Dr. Hugh Price, D.C.L., a native of Brecon, in 1571.

There are a few details left uncertain in the above tables, but they are not important. Some bequests became in the course of time misappropriated, or of uncertain origin, and the Charity Commission Reports have been obliged to leave some few particulars in doubt.

Some of the schools founded during this period were expressly for "poor boys," or the sons of the "poorest inhabitants," and such probably derived the whole of their school education in them, having been previously without means of instruction. As to the sons of the gentry (see p. 190), they would seem to have been dependent in boyhood upon such private instruction as could be obtained from domestic chaplains, such as the one spoken of by Sir J. Wynne in his *Gwydir History*, or from the local clergy, for there were apparently no special schools for their learning. Carnarvon was a place celebrated at that time (see p. 105) for its learning and general culture, but it is the only place thus lauded. It was customary then for boys to go to Oxford and Cambridge at an earlier age than at present, and the biographies of many of the eminent Welshmen of that day say, "he obtained his early education in the local district, or the neighbourhood, and went to Oxford or Cambridge when from twelve to

* Four Welsh Bishops, Dean Goodman, Archdeacon Prys, and Canon Wynne, were all educated in this College.

seventeen or eighteen years old." To such youths the Latin and Greek and mathematics of the customary curriculum of a "grammar" school would be invaluable, and the numerous scholarships would assist the poor boys who were ambitious; while the fellowships would enable them to pursue their studies to a more advanced stage, as in the case of Morgan and Salesbury, whose lives will be given in Chapter VII.

With all this help, however, the educational condition of Wales generally was very dark until above a century after the Tudor period, at which time (1730) the Rev. Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llanddowror, an eminently learned and earnest man, originated his system of "Pious Schools," as they were popularly called, or "Circulating Schools" as he designated them. His system was to find schoolmasters and send them to any place from which a request came from the clergyman or the parishioners. The master was to remain there three months, and teach every *man, woman or child* who would come, to *read Welsh*, and, if possible, to *write* it also, so that they might be able hereafter to read the Bible in *Welsh* for themselves. If request was made, and it could be complied with, the master was allowed to remain a second or even a third period, or to return after having been in some other locality. This system he pursued throughout the length and breadth of Wales for twenty-four years, during which time the schools taught were 3,185, and the scholars were 150,213. At his death he left money to continue his system, which was carried on by one of his surviving parishioners, Mrs. Bevan, for twenty years. After an interval, it was again carried on with some modifications by the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, who was for some years a clergyman in active work, at first in the Church in England, and afterwards as Curate in Llanymowddwy, in

Wales,* but afterwards joined the Calvinistic Methodists, with whom his work has been principally associated. By the work thus carried on for so many years, nearly all the Welsh became able to read if not to write also, and thus to avail themselves of the boon of the Bible in Welsh to be described in Chapter VII.

Eminent Welshmen in the Tudor Period.

It may not be without interest to observe the different results among the Welsh gentry in the case of those who *confined* themselves to a monoglot speech—their native Welsh—and those who availed themselves of the opportunities, such as they were, for widening their knowledge by the acquisition, in the Grammar Schools, the Colleges, or the Universities described above, of other languages beside their own. The first class is illustrated by an anecdote related of Katherine, widow of Henry V; and the second, by the lives of some of the eminent men now to be recorded.

Queen Katherine, shortly after the death of Henry V, married Owain Tewdwr, grandfather of Henry VII, a very handsome and graceful man; but her French friends, knowing nothing of Welshmen, implied that she had married beneath her, and “his kindred were objected to, to disgrace him, as most vile, and barbarous, which made her desire to see some of his kindred. Whereupon Owain brought John ap Meredith and Howell ap Llewelyn, his near cousins, and men of goodly stature and personage, but wholly destitute of bringing up and nurture; for when the Queen had spoken to them in different languages, and they were not able to answer her,

* Williams, *Lives of Eminent Welshmen*—Rev. Griffith Jones and Rev. Thomas Charles.

she said they were the goodliest dumb creatures she ever saw." Yorke's *Royal Tribes*, pp. 15, 16.

Of the other class, Lord HERBERT of Cherbury, one of Elizabeth's courtiers, may be first mentioned, because in his entertaining Autobiography he describes the course of training he himself passed through, confirming the conjectural account given in a previous page. He says that he was so delicate as a child that no attempt was made to teach him anything until he was *seven* years old, when "my schoolmaster, in the house of my lady grandmother, began to teach me the *alphabet*, and afterwards *grammar*, and other books commonly read in school."

When he was *nine* years old, he was sent by his parents to reside in the family of Edward Thelwall, Esq., of Plas-y-Ward, in Denbighshire, that he might *there learn Welsh*, to enable him in the future to hold intercourse with *his Welsh tenantry*, and converse with his future Welsh neighbours. This Mr. THELWALL's name deserves honourable mention among the gentry of that date, for by the aid of *dictionaries*, and such other means of self instruction as he could obtain, he had made himself proficient in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish, "without having had the advantage of a University Education."

Lord Herbert remained with him nine months, but did not learn much either of Welsh or other languages, as he was ill with ague most of the time, but when he was *ten* years old, and had sufficiently recovered, he was sent to one Mr. Newton, at Didlebury, in Shropshire, where "in less than the space of two years I attained to the knowledge of Greek and Logic, insomuch that at *twelve* years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford, to University College, where I disputed, at my first coming, in Logic, and made in Greek the exercises required by that College oftener than in Latin." His father's death removed him

for a time from Oxford, and at *seventeen* years of age he married an heiress—a relation of his family,—and when *eighteen* he and his wife and mother went to live in Oxford, where he resumed his studies until he was *twenty-one*, by which time he had perfected himself in French, Spanish, and Italian, besides Greek, Latin, and Logic, and he had learnt to sing a part at first sight and to play the lute.

Here his University career ended, and he learnt elsewhere to “ride the great horse,” which seems to have really meant that he learnt cavalry riding, as distinguished from hunting or ordinary civilian riding, and he also became an adept in fencing and dancing.

When *twenty-three* years old he went to Court, and was knighted, and after that time travelled through France, the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and Spain; took part in many of the wars on the Continent for ten years, and afterwards spent several years as English Ambassador in Paris.

He was created an English peer when fifty years of age, and in addition to all this he was a voluminous author on Politics, Religion, and Philosophy, and he also wrote a history of Henry VIII, which he dedicated to Charles I. He died when sixty-seven years old, and may well be reckoned among the eminent Welshmen of the Tudor period.

The Rev. GEORGE HERBERT, fifth brother of Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, author of *Herbert's Poems* and other well-known works, has been a household name among English Churchmen since Izaak Walton wrote his life, but few of them think of him as a *Welshman*, born and brought up in Montgomery Castle, and a favourite in the Court of James I, from whom he looked for advancement connected with the Foreign Office.

He was born in Elizabeth's reign, in the Castle of

Montgomery, where he was "educated under the care of a most excellent mother" until he was *nine* years old. He was then sent to *Westminster School*, founded by Queen Elizabeth, where he remained until he was *fifteen*, when he went as King's Scholar to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow, and where he was appointed Public Orator when twenty-six years of age—a post of considerable importance in those days. During the eight years he held this office he became thoroughly familiar with French, Spanish, and Italian, so as to be qualified for the post of Foreign Secretary of State, which he had reason to look for; but James's death terminated his court prospects, and he then devoted his mind entirely to Theology, and was ordained. After having been in holy orders but a short time, he was made Prebendary of Lincoln, and after that, Rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury, with which Cathedral this eminent *Welshman* is much more closely associated in the ordinary English mind than he is with Wales, the land of his birth.

It is amusing to notice the different terms of honour in which a prophet is spoken of in his own family and outside of it. Lord Herbert says, "My brother George was most holy and exemplary, insomuch that about *Salisbury* he was *little less than sainted*. He was not exempt from passion and choler, to which all our race is subject; but *that excepted, he was without reproach in his actions*."

Sir EDWARD CARNE, of Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, may be mentioned as an eminent *politician*. He was traditionally descended from the second son of Ithyn, King of Gwent (South Wales). He was a man learned in Civil Law, and received the honour of knighthood from the great Emperor, Charles V. He was Henry VIII's Public Orator before the Pope in Henry's divorce suit, and was afterwards ambassador there for Queen Mary and Queen

Elizabeth, by whom he was much esteemed. He died at Rome, in 1561, and was the last English Ambassador to Rome until James II sent the Earl of Castlemain, in 1687, the year before the Revolution in which he lost his throne.

Sir HUGH MYDDLETON, in a very different sphere, viz., that of a *civil engineer*, was the projector and completer of the "New River" for supplying London with water, in the carrying out of which scheme he was financially ruined, although James I paid half the expense. He was born at Henllan, near Denbigh, his father having been Governor of Denbigh Castle in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. He had shown extraordinary engineering talent when a youth, but settled in London as a goldsmith, until the city of London, after three unsuccessful attempts to bring water into it, gave him the full rights and powers of the last Act of Parliament which had been obtained for that purpose. After overcoming obstacles previously considered insuperable, he made a river of nearly forty miles in length, and brought the water to London, for which James I knighted him, and afterwards conferred upon him his newly-invented honour—he made him a Baronet.

With his reduced fortune Sir Hugh was obliged to become a professional engineer, and as such carried out valuable works in places where draining or mining required exceptional skill, and to this day the inhabitants of London have good reason to remember and bless the eminent *Welshman*, Sir Hugh Myddleton, the originator and completer of an entirely "New River" for supplying London with water.

Captain WILLIAM MYDDLETON, brother of Sir Hugh, was a Welshman and a *sailor*, who likewise deserved well of the English nation in the Tudor period; for having

entered the *army* after receiving his education in Oxford, he ultimately went to sea, in Elizabeth's reign, when his merits soon placed him in command of a ship. By his conduct in this command, he was enabled to save the English Fleet from capture off the Azores by a much larger one sent in pursuit of it by Philip II of Spain. He is celebrated among the Welsh also as an accomplished poet and Welsh grammarian, his works having gone through a new edition so lately as the reign of George IV, and he was a good Latin scholar and author also. The last of his accomplishments to be named will be variously estimated by different minds. It is said that he, with Captain Thomas Price, of Plâs Iolyn, and a Captain Keet, were the first who smoked *tobacco publicly in London*, and that the Londoners flocked from all parts to see them. Whether the water introduced into London by his brother, Sir Hugh, or the "Weed" thus made popular by himself, conferred the greatest boon upon that city, let its own citizens be the judges; but they have practically long since decided in *his* favour, for, for every one person who is a pure *water-drinker*, ten, at least, prefer the "*weed*." Such, alas! is the popular estimate of merit in this wicked world.

It would extend this portion of the picture of Wales unduly to enumerate the many Welshmen who, in the Tudor period, attained to and merited high places in the Church and the Universities, as well as in the widely different spheres already described. But this one lesson is forcibly taught by that period, viz., that if Welshmen would take the place in the world that their intellectual constitution might make possible, they must diligently and *ex animo* cultivate thoroughly other languages in addition to their own; and they must fight against and overcome the tendency—so common among them—to isolate themselves from other nationalities, and form

communities, larger or smaller, among themselves, in which the Welsh language and Welsh traditions, tastes, habits, and thoughts are apparently the limit of their desire and the purpose of their existence.*

CHAPTER VII.—TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO WELSH.

Lives of William Salesbury, Esq., and Bishop Morgan, the Translators.

The deplorable condition of religion in Wales was evidently known and lamented by Elizabeth, as was shown by her endeavour to remedy it; for although the religious services, such as Rome supplied, were chiefly in a foreign tongue (Latin) they were all the Welsh people had, and when they were removed during the reformation there was nothing to replace them, for there was scarcely a priest in the country who could minister or preach in the native tongue. Some religious ceremonial practices, such as candles at a funeral and the like were still retained, and they are even yet practised in country parts of Wales—relics of a bye-gone period and teaching. This state of affairs continued through the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, and also during the earliest part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But in her fifth year (1563) she obtained the passing of an Act of Parliament (5 El. c. xxviii) which ordered a translation to be made into the vernacular Welsh of the Old and New Testaments, and also of the English Prayer Book under penalty of a heavy fine for delay, amounting to nearly a quarter of the value of some of the Bishoprics.

The preamble of this Act, and the Act itself, are so

* On this subject see a very important paper by Principal Reichel, of University College, Bangor. *Trans. of the Liverpool Nat.-Welsh Association*. Second Session, 1886-87, pp. 5, 6, and 21, 22.

curiously different from our modern Acts, and are so illustrative of the sentiment of the Tudor times and the personal feelings of Elizabeth who was herself one quarter Welsh, as to deserve reproduction *in extenso* in an historical picture of the period. The preamble of many of the Acts of Edward VI, and of Elizabeth, resemble a theological treatise, or a page from some controversial work, rather than the opening portion of a simple Act of Parliament.

*Preamble to the Act of Parliament enjoining the Translation
of the Bible into Welsh.*

5 Eliz. c. xxviii, 1563.—Whereas the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, like a most godly and virtuous Princess, having chief respect and regard to the honour and glory of God and the soul's health of her subjects, did in the first year of her reign by the authority of her High Court of Parliament, chiefly for that purpose called, set forth a Book of Common Prayer and order for the Administration of the Sacraments in the vulgar *English* tongue to be used throughout all her realm of *England*, *Wales* and the *Marches* of the same, that thereby her Highness' most loving subjects, understanding in their own language the terrible and fearful threatenings of God against the wicked and malefactors; the pleasant and infallible promises made to the elect and chosen flock, with a just order to rule and guide their lives according to the Commandments of God, might much better learn to love and fear God, to serve and obey their Prince, and to know their duties towards their neighbours; which book being received as a most precious jewel with unspeakable joy of all such her subjects as did understand the *English* tongue, the which tongue is *not* understood by the greatest number of her majesty's most loving and obedient subjects inhabiting the country of *Wales*, who therefore are utterly destituted of God's holy word, and do remain in the like or rather more darkness and ignorance than they were in the time of the papistry, be it therefore enacted that, etc.*

* The above preamble is taken from the *Statutes at Large*, (4to, vol. 2, p. 568), Ruffhead's edition, in the Library of the Incorporated Law Society, Liverpool. It is not present—although the Act itself is—in the folio edition of the *Statutes at Large*—(Hawkins')—in the Liverpool Free Library Catalogue, F. 85.)

French, Italian, and Spanish. After leaving Oxford he became a barrister, a member of Thavies' Inn, Holborn. These circumstances were not entirely favourable for his work, as English, not Welsh, was the ordinary language of the gentry in Wales at that time, and his knowledge of Welsh was therefore not of the popular, but rather of an antiquarian and classical type. His Oxford training also made his style classical and scholarly, rather than colloquial, and in consequence his version never became popular, though its excellence is acknowledged by all critics. In his time, also, another great difficulty existed, viz.:—that there were no Welsh words for many Scriptural terms, such as “only-begotten,” “Atonement,” “Comforter,” “Propitiation,” “justification,” and others; for which he had to *make* words in the best way he could.

Twenty years after Salesbury's date, Bishop Morgan bears testimony to the above difficulty in the dedication of his own translation to Queen Elizabeth in 1588. He says:—

In those days, [*i.e.*, before Salesbury began his work] there was hardly a man capable of preaching in Welsh—the words requisite for a Welsh exposition of the mysteries treated of in Holy Scriptures had either disappeared utterly, wiped out as by the waters of Lethe, or had been lying buried, so to speak, under the ashes of disuse, so that neither was it possible for the teachers to explain what they desired, nor could the hearers understand their explanations—so that, though they flocked eagerly to sermons, and paid diligent heed to them, most of them went away puzzled and confused, like men who had discovered a rich treasure which they were not able to unearth.

His translation was, however, completed in 1567, and published in a Black Letter quarto, with the aid of Bishop Richard Davies and Mr. Precentor Huet, as already mentioned.

Sources from which Salesbury made his Translation.

Its sources were varied, and Principal Edwards, of Aberystwith College, sums up his investigation as follows :

It was made from the Greek—not exclusively from any one text, but from Stephens's Regia of 1550 and 1551, with Beza's text of 1565, the Vulgate, Erasmus's Latin, and Beza's Latin translations of 1556, and the two Genevan versions in English ; but by far the most important source was Beza. (Principal Edwards, of Aberystwith, in *Transactions*, Liverpool Welsh National Association, 1st Session, 1885-86, pp. 60-73.)

Professor Williams, of the Theological College, Bala, gives the result of his independent research in somewhat different though substantially similar terms : " Salesbury has paid such excessive deference to the English Geneva Version of 1560 that traces for the identification of the original texts used by him are lost. The Geneva translators seem to have adopted a text of their own—that of Beza's Greek Testament in the main—but at times the text of Stephanus (1551), or that of Erasmus.

"Let us try in the light of the facts which have been stated to imagine the course which Salesbury followed. He began his study of the New Testament, like almost every one at that time, with Erasmus, and his first translations were made probably from some one of that scholar's five editions, because a great part of his own Testament is not divided into verses.

"After that, when 1551 has gone by, there lies on his table Stephanus's small edition, divided *into verses*, (this is the first time that the division was made;) and with this, Beza's translation—either that of 1557 or the one of 1565—perhaps both, but more especially the latter. With their help he revises the New Testament from the begin-

ning. Still he does not wholly put aside Erasmus, since, although he translates like Beza, he still places in the margin (as in Coloss. ii, 13) Erasmus's reading."

From the above analyses by these two eminent Welsh scholars it would appear that one or other version of Beza's was the principal Greek authority employed by Salesbury, but that he availed himself largely of the help afforded by Erasmus, Stephens, and the Genevan translations in the preparation of his own Welsh version.

Salesbury was also engaged during two years in working along with Bishop Rd. Davies at the translation of the Old Testament as well as the New, and they had made some progress when they differed upon the Welsh equivalent for some Hebrew word (not now known what), and their labours ceased on both sides, and were never resumed. This was perhaps in some sense providential, as it gave time for the gradual consideration of the many new words they had had to introduce in their first attempt at a version into Welsh, and it postponed the completion of the work for another scholar, whose popular surroundings gave him advantages in his Welsh that Salesbury's more fashionable associations had not afforded to him.

At one period of his literary labours Salesbury's life illustrates the condition of Wales at that time, for he had, for safety, to carry on his work in a chamber that was only accessible through an opening in the kitchen chimney. The chimneys at that date were very large and open, so that the family might sit in them round the turf fire on the floor in the centre, and at some height up the chimney, and out of sight, an opening sufficiently large was made into a chamber built on the outside of the main house, in which he carried on his work. The remains of this chimney were still visible in his house at Cae Du within the recollection of persons still living.

Life and Times of Bishop Morgan.

Further translation into Welsh then ceased for twenty years, until William Morgan's time. He was the son of a poor Welsh farmer, at Pen-machno, near Llanrwst, "he and his family being hereditary bondsmen* and servants of the Gwydir family, and he was brought up in learning (as a boy) at Gwydir."—(Sir. J. Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family*, p. 95.)

His means of early education are entirely conjectural beyond that passing comment by Sir J. Wynn; but the letter by Sir John's father to the chaplain he was about to engage throws some light upon it, and also illustrates the times in a curious manner. Penmachno, Morgan's birth-place was at the head, "Pen," of the little river "Machno," with its pretty waterfall, within an easy morning's excursion from Bettws-y-Coed, where Lord Penrhyn has repaired the old farmhouse as a place of interest for visitors. There was no Grammar or other school nearer than Bangor or Ruthin, and his parents were too poor to send him. But the chaplain at Gwydir House was informed † that his duties would be to say prayers to the household in the morning before they went to work, and, having done that, to devote himself to study for the rest of the morning. At night to say prayers again, and catechise the workmen, and ask what the parson had taught them on Sunday. He was also to report any disorders in the servants' department. On Sundays he was to be diligent in going to the churches round about to preach and to catechise the children, and on other days he was to say grace before dinner if any strangers were present. If none

* It would appear from this remark that hereditary serfdom still existed in Wales in the Tudor Period.

† In his letter of engagement.—*History of the Gwydir Family*, p. xi.

were present he was to sit at the head of the children's table, and teach them in his chamber. After dinner, if Mr. Wynn was busy, he might play at bowls, shuffleboard, or any other honest recreation by himself, until his patron was ready for the after-dinner ride, when he was to accompany him; or, if Mr. Wynn himself was inclined for a game of bowls, &c., the chaplain was to be his companion in it if there were no guests. And, lastly, he was to avoid the alehouse, "keeping company with drunkards being the greatest discredit his function could have."

From this chaplain it is probable that Morgan received his early instruction in Latin, and possibly in Greek, and he afterwards went to Cambridge as a sizar, and there, by his knowledge of *Hebrew*, attracted, the notice of Dr. William Hughes, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, who urged him to undertake the translation of the *Old Testament*. His familiarity from childhood with *colloquial* Welsh qualified him better than Salesbury for making a version popular and easily intelligible to all Welshmen; and he completed the task himself in ten years, almost single-handed.

Tradition has it that Morgan remained some years in Cambridge after taking his degree for the purpose of continuing his studies in Greek and Hebrew, and that he was appointed College Chaplain. In 1575, after his ordination, he was presented to the Vicarage of Welshpool, and three years afterwards he was transferred by Bishop William Hughes to the Vicarage of Llanrhaidr—a secluded country parish. He was also appointed, in the same year, by the University of Cambridge, to the position of "University Preacher," an office which implied a mission to preach in England and *Ireland*, and was made by the authority of Queen Elizabeth.

In this retired parish Morgan was so deeply engrossed

in his work of translation that some of his parishioners laid a complaint against him, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he was neglecting the parish, and he was accordingly summoned by the Archbishop to go to Lambeth and answer the charges. By that time he had completed the Pentateuch which he took with him, but his poverty would have prevented him from proceeding further with the work, or publishing even that portion. Whitgift, mindful, perhaps, of Salesbury's difficulties about Welsh, asked Morgan if he was a good Welsh scholar, to which Morgan replied, "I trust your Grace will believe that I am better acquainted with my mother tongue than with any other language." And the Archbishop was so impressed with Morgan when brought into intercourse with him that he invited him to stay at the Palace, appointed him his chaplain, and encouraged him to complete the translation of the whole Bible, which he accomplished in his Welsh country parish by 1587, in which year he returned with the MS. to Lambeth. The journey in those days was by no means free from danger from banditti and robbers, and could only be undertaken at the season when the Welsh drovers made a kind of caravan, driving their flocks and herds to London for sale; and under the protection of such a caravan it was that journeys to London were made. Whitgift wished Morgan to be his guest while the Bible was being printed in "Paule's Square," the only place where such a work could be executed, but the unbridged condition of the Thames between Lambeth and London at that date made this impossible, and therefore Gabriel Goodman,* Dean of Westminster, was his host

*The origin of his name is one of the curiosities in a "Picture of Wales during the Tudor period." Previous to this date the Welsh had no surnames, but each man was distinguished from his neighbour by using the name of his father, and frequently of his grandfather also; as is still the custom in some of the Lancashire towns and dales, in which Tom o' Dick's

for the year, and assisted him materially by books, and by revising the press.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) bore the expense of its publication in London, in 1588, and the Welsh people are indebted to the munificence of an English Archbishop for the Welsh Bible which in the form of Parry's revision is still in daily use, and has done more than anything else to preserve their language, which was apparently dying out at the time, but then became strengthened, and has been substantially unchanged since Parry's day.*

Eight hundred copies of the entire Bible, including the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, with a Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, were published in 1588 in a Black Letter small folio volume, and both it and Salesbury's Black Letter New Testament are now so rare that barely twenty copies of each are known to be in existence. In 1595, seven years after its publication, Morgan was nominated by the Queen to the Bishopric of Llandaff, where he remained six years, after which he was promoted, in 1601, to the Bishopric of St. Asaph, which he held for three years, and died on the 10th September, 1604, when fifty-seven years of age. His last year was a troublous one, owing to a bitter controversy with Sir J. Wynn relating to the sale of the tithes of a living, more

o' Jack's o' Tom's, is thus distinguished from Tom o' Jack's o' Bill's o' Sam's. Gabriel Goodman's father "Edward" was a wealthy mercer in Ruthin, but he was so noted for his benevolence and general excellence that he was commonly called "goodman Edward." About this date surnames first began to creep in, and "Goodman" was adopted by his children as an honourable appellation, and young "Gabriel ap Edward ap some previous ancestor" became simply "Gabriel Goodman."

* After Morgan's death, Bishop Parry, who succeeded him at St. Asaph, brought out a second and corrected version, which was published in 1620 in Black Letter folio, and this, commonly called "Parry's Bible," has been recognised ever since as *the* Welsh Bible. "Parry's Bible" may be said to stand towards Morgan's Version somewhat in the relation of the "*Revised* Old and New Testaments" to the "*Authorised*" Version.

fully referred to in page 111, and "he died a poor man,"* having devoted much of his income while Bishop to repairing the ruined roof of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, and restoring other dilapidations for necessitous clergy in his diocese.

He was buried the day after his death in the Choir of the Cathedral Church, but there is no monument or tablet or inscription to indicate the exact place.

It was thought at one time that this very early burial was carried out to prevent some opposition that might be feared from Sir J. Wynn, but there does not appear to be any substantial ground for this supposition. Very early interment appears to have been common at that time, for Sir J. Wynn himself is said to have been buried the day after his death, and Bishop Hanmer, Bishop of St. Asaph twenty years after Morgan, a man of wealth and of local importance, was also buried the day after his death.

Judging from *Y Cwdda Cyfarwydd*, "the Chronicle written by the famous Clarke—Peter Roberts, Public Notary"†—which is a sort of Parish Register for forty years, 1605 to 1646, it would seem (p. xvii) that this custom of very early interment "was probably owing to the absence of any coffin to enclose the remains, the body being simply placed upon a flat board or stretcher," previous to interment; but the simple burial was followed in two or three weeks by a more public "solemnization," when, in the case of "greater people," a sermon was preached, and offerings made "in remembrance of his death." It is quite conceivable that in a thinly populated district the local undertaker might not have the materials at hand for making a handsome coffin at a short notice,

* Sir J. Wynn, *Gwydir History*, p. 96.

† *Y Cwdda Cyfarwydd*, edited by D. R. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A. Whiting and Co., London, 1883.

and the difficulty of communication in such a wild mountainous country as Wales might also make it impossible to assemble the scattered family or clan in time for the actual interment, though there would be time eventually for their being collected for the ceremonial "solemnization" or "commemoration" of the departed.

Another feature of that time, which may almost be still called the "Tudor period," related to marriages, which were frequently celebrated in private houses and at all hours, even to "candle light," in the parish churches as well; and the marriages were also frequently "clandestine," a favourite place for these being the "Capel Ffynnon-Vair"—the Chapel in Wicker at St. Mary's Well (p. xvi). What might be the object of these "Gretna Green" sort of marriages is not very clear, for the official marriage contracts and portions had sometimes been already settled beforehand, and in other cases a festive gathering was publicly held after the *clandestine* marriage.

Belief in astrology had evidently not disappeared from among the gentry at that time; for the Registrar, Peter Roberts, carefully notes in his Register the constellation etc., under which the child was born; and the parent, if he was a nobleman or great man, had his astrologer to cast the horoscopes of his children in order to discover their future good or bad success (p. xvi). Honest Peter does not say whether or not crossing the palm of the "seer" had any influence upon what he saw in the heavens.

CHAPTER VIII.—BISHOP MORGAN'S BIBLE AS A LITERARY WORK, AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE WELSH LANGUAGE AND THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

The feeble condition of the Welsh language before Morgan's Bible was issued is indicated by the character of its literature in his youth. Such *early* literature of Wales as might have been collected there* was totally lost by the destruction of the great Monastery of Bangor-is-y-Coed, near Chester, by the Saxons, A.D. 613. And by the destruction at the time of Henry VIII of the Monasteries still existing nearly all the records and literature treasured up in them were also lost, destroyed, or dispersed. The Monks in the Welsh Monasteries at that date were also so frequently of foreign origin or education that French and Italian were as frequently spoken in them as Welsh or English.

Morrus Cyffin, one of the most educated Welshmen of Elizabeth's reign, says :—

Before his (Morgan's) Bible it is easy to see how languid the state of the Welsh language was, when scarcely anything was heard but either a wanton song, or some other form of frivolous jeering, without learning, grace or substance in it.

Dr. Rhŷs, another eminent learned Welshman of the same date, and author of a Welsh Grammar and a treatise on Welsh metres, says :—

"There is scarcely one language in all Europe, as far as I have been able to discover, which has not from time to time been cultivated and improved by scholars and inhabitants of those countries except the ancient Welsh; and the reason is not far to seek—viz., the neglect of the language by its men of culture." For centuries

* *Historic* evidence as to the existence there of anything to be called a Library is extremely weak. Literature began to flourish in Monasteries with the Benedictine orders, and Bangor-is-y-Coed was of an older period.

before the Reformation, English was the fashionable language of the wealthy and educated classes in Wales, and the vernacular was left neglected and often despised to the middle and lower classes, from whom no prophet arose until Morgan's time to infuse life into it, and raise it from a vulgar dialect into a refined and noble language.

Of this language let Professor Freeman now say the last word :—

The existence of that stubborn tongue which has survived two conquests, the Roman and the Saxon, and the fact that in spite of the Roman Claudius and the Saxon Hengist, an appreciable part of Britain still speaks the tongue of Caradoc and of Boadicea, is a fact which has no real parallel* in Western Europe. (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, Oct. 1876, page 388).

Morgan's translation of the Old Testament was made from the Hebrew (and his annotated copy is still in existence), as that of the New Testament was from the Greek, and perhaps the strongest testimony to their excellence in reproducing the spirit as well as the mere words of the original is to be found in the publicly uttered statement of the late Bishop Thirlwall, a member of the late Revision Committee of the English New Testament, that he never decided finally upon the correct rendering of a verse, without first consulting the Welsh Bible. The renderings recommended by the American Company on the Revision Committee had also been frequently anticipated by the Welsh New Testament.

As regards the question of its influence upon the Welsh language, it may be said that Morgan found the Welsh vernacular a congeries of dialects and spellings, some of them deserving only of death, and he left it a language that has held its place with increasing estimation during a period of three hundred years. A language which has adapted itself to the expression of the deepest emotions of

*Is not the continued existence of the Basque tongue in a portion of France and Spain a parallel case?

the human heart, and to the warmest religious feelings, and that still holds its own in active and growing competition for favour along with English. His Bible has become the standard of purity and linguistic excellence by which Welsh compositions have been tried since his time. He entered upon the ruins merely, but he left a stately and enduring edifice of a tongue which had existed for centuries before the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans had gradually produced the *English* language; and which gives daily proofs of its vitality in the circulation of above 120,000 copies of vernacular newspapers weekly, and 150,000 copies of vernacular magazines monthly, among above a million Welsh-speaking people.

The Gradual Diffusion of the Welsh Bible and its Influence upon the Character of the People.

This influence has been very marked when we compare the present with the Tudor period. The Welsh Bible has constituted almost the entire literary food of numberless Welsh homes, to the exclusion of science, art, history, or literature, either in its graver forms (with the exception of the theological works in Welsh) or in the lighter aspect of novels or romances. The Welsh mind has become so saturated with Biblical themes that Bethsadas and Zions, Salems and Bethels, meet the eye at every turn in a Welsh town, and Biblical names are very frequent; while the geography, the sacred places, and the history of the Holy Land are more familiar to the Welsh as a people than are those of their own or any other country; and coincidentally there is no part of the kingdom in which serious criminal offences are so rare, and virgin assizes so frequent, as they are in the principality of Wales.

The direct Influence upon the Welsh People of the Bible

in their native tongue was not immediately apparent, which was not wonderful when the circumstances are taken into consideration. The inevitably great cost of black letter quartos and folios put the Bible totally out of the reach of the general population, except as they might hear it read in church, and even there, as Morgan himself testifies they could understand but little of it from want of previous education and the unaccustomed scriptural terms employed in it. The issue of each edition was also so limited by the expense as to leave few copies beyond one for each church and the other institutions specified in the Act of Parliament, and the black letter type was also unintelligible to the Welsh people generally.

In order to remove these obstacles to the knowledge of their native Bible, some* London citizens subscribed to issue, below cost price, a small portable octavo edition of the Welsh Bible in ordinary Roman type, which was published in 1680, ten years after Parry's folio, and the following commentary upon its presence and cost by the Vicar of Llandovery, (the Rev. Rees Pritchard) in his *Candle for Welshmen*, should not be without a place in a "Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period."

Since God has now vouchsafed the same
In our own tongue, O! let's not waste
Our time, but all attempt, for shame,
To read it with the utmost haste.

More than a crown 'twill not now cost,
The value of a single sheep,
Which in some ditch may soon be lost,
Whilst nightly storms the mountains sweep.

'Tis for the *Welsh* a foul disgrace,
They're in religion still so young,
That not a tithe of all the race
The scriptures read in their own tongue.

* Rowland Heylin and two others.

The cost of the Bible being thus moderated, the difficulty of its language still remained, and this the Rev. Vicar attempts to overcome as follows :—

Because they take in sermons no delight,
But idle songs with eagerness recite ;
 I, for their good, have thus employed my time,
 And put the doctrines that ensue in *Rhyme*.

For as I saw famed Sal'sbury's *laboured* style
 Neglected by the *unlearned* of our Isle,
 I therefore took a *metre* short and plain,
 Easy to read, and easy to retain.

To give the *unlettered* an assisting hand,
 Who at the best but little understand,
 These *Poems* I composed with pleasing care.
The rest, * I ween, have better Pastors far.

(p. 26, vv. 71-84.)

Pritchard, therefore, rendered the whole Gospel History of our Lord into *verse*, in two poems entitled "The Life and Death of Christ;" and "A Rehearsal of Christ's Love to the World;" and in other poems throughout the work he continually refers to the characters in the *Old Testament* and the *Apocrypha*; so that there is scarcely one from Adam to Daniel that is not put before his readers as an example to be followed or as one to be avoided. This wonderful "Candle" (for there is scarcely any other adjective that expresses it) is a unique epitome of the Old and New Testaments and the *Apocrypha*, and it further contains poems of advice for every station in life, and for every age and calling, which are only the more impressive the more they are studied.

And what was the result upon the nation? Let another Welsh Vicar (Rev. William Evans), who translated

* The gentry and educated classes.

these *Welsh* poems into *English* verse* about a hundred years afterwards give the answer :—

No book, perhaps, of human composition ever better answered the good intentions of its author: for it was no sooner printed than it was immediately in the hands and mouths of almost all, and it is scarce credible with what pleasure and avidity it was received and repeated by them. Instead of idle ballads and lampoons, which the Welsh were before extravagantly fond of, scarce anything was to be heard in any house, street or field, but those godly songs or carols. *They soon made an almost entire change in the morals and behaviour of the whole country*, insomuch that the justly celebrated Bishop Bull became so charmed with the author's character from the unspeakable good that he had done by his divine poems in *Welsh*, that he had a mind to be buried near him at Llandovery. This wish could not be carried out, for "there is not the least monumental inscription or even a common tombstone to ascertain the place of his interment." †

During the next hundred years after "Parry's Bible," eight editions, containing about 30,000 copies, were published, and during the succeeding eighty years the Church of England *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, published 70,000 copies in editions of from 10,000 to 15,000 copies each; and by this time (1799), the influence of Wesley's teaching had become so powerful, and the demand for Bibles had become so great, that the last edition of 12,000 copies was no sooner published than it was sold, before one quarter of Wales was supplied. A touching incident then occurred. A little girl named Ann Jones had been saving her pennies for some years for the purchase of a Bible, and at length walked twenty-five miles to the house of the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala, who had had some copies for sale; but the last was gone before her arrival. Her distress was so great

* It is from this English version of the "Welshman's Candle" that the verses in this "Picture" are taken.

† Preface to the "Welshman's Candle," p. ii.

that he spared no pains until he had obtained one for her, and at the next meeting of the Religious Tract Society in London, of which he was on the committee, he mentioned this circumstance, and the conversation resulted in the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which in 1804 published, *as its first work*, an edition of 25,000 copies of the *Welsh Bible* for Wales. The manner of its reception is thus described by an eye witness (*Bible of Every Land*, p. 157).

When the arrival of the cart was announced which carried the first sacred load, the Welsh peasants went out in crowds to meet it, welcomed it as the Israelites did the Ark of old, drew it to the town, and eagerly bore off the copies as rapidly as they could be dispersed. The young people were to be seen spending the whole nights in reading it, and labourers carried some with them to the fields that they might enjoy them during the intervals of their labour, and lose no opportunity of becoming acquainted with their sacred truths.

The *moral* results of the Welsh Bible may be estimated by comparing the condition of Wales now with its state as delineated in the time of Morgan, and in the period succeeding it, as it was drawn in the "Welshman's Candle," and as it has been given in the preceding portion of this "Picture of Wales during the Tudor period."

CHAPTER IX.—RELATION OF THE KING OF ENGLAND TO
THE COUNTRY OF WALES PREVIOUS TO AND DURING
THE TUDOR PERIOD, AND HENRY VIII'S CONSEQUENT
LEGISLATION RELATING TO IT.

The foregoing Chapters IV and V have described the wretched and lawless condition of Wales, which excited Henry VIII's anxiety for the country of his ancestry, both

as a patriot and as a statesman, and also as being in some respects responsible for its welfare, seeing that he had some territorial interest in it, even though that might be but a limited one. His consequent legislation, now to be described, converted lawlessness into obedience to law, and constant intestine warfare into peaceful and industrial occupations, but the question naturally arises "What title had the King of England to impose laws upon a neighbouring state: and what right had the English Parliament to interfere in the affairs of a country which had never been represented in it, and which did not ask for its intervention?"

The answer must be gathered from the following account of Henry's legislation, and the reasons he gives for it.

The titles by which Wales is described in the various acts of previous English sovereigns, and also of Henry VIII himself, especially in his most important Act—27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi,—and the language of that Act throughout, furnish a curious illustration of the relation that Wales, in his time and previously, bore to England and to the English Sovereign.

The Act begins (sec. 1)—"Because in the *Country*, *Principality*, and *Dominion* of Wales." Now, at this date, Henry VIII was described in his Acts of Parliament and also upon his coinage as "*King* of England," and "*Lord* of Ireland," but Wales is never mentioned in either. What then was he to Wales, which never appears upon his coinage, and is always omitted from his titles in his Acts of Parliament? Was he *Prince* of the Principality of Wales? No, for he was never created "*Prince* of Wales," and the oldest son of the reigning British monarch is not born "*Prince* of Wales," but requires a special creation as much as a "*Duke* of Clarence" or a "*Duke* of York."

"Was he King of the Principality," or, was he Suzerain or "Conqueror" of Wales? For in the Act of Parliament of Henry IV (4 Henry IV, c. xxxi) we find it ordained that no Welshman shall hold any castle or fortified place either for himself or as deputy for any other person otherwise than he was accustomed to do in the time of "*King Edward, Conqueror of Wales.*" Thus, Edward was not, even in the fourth reign after his own, and one hundred and twenty-years after his conquest, styled "*King of Wales,*" but only "Conqueror" of Wales. Now, Napoleon "conquered" Austria in his time, but he did not thereby become "Emperor of Austria," or Lawgiver for that country.

In the reign of Edward IV—three reigns later still—Lord Justice Lyttleton—one of the greatest of English Lawyers—speaks of the various petty "*Kings*" of Wales, and of the manner of division of their "*Kingdoms*" at their death, and of the evils resulting from that condition of things even in his time.

What then was the relation of the King of England, previous to and during the early portion of the Tudor period, to the country of Wales?

The answer is that he certainly was not King of Wales in the sense in which the title is now commonly understood, and in which the sovereigns of England have been Kings of Wales since his time; but he was *King of England, Lord of Ireland, King of "Snowdon,* and the parts adjoining;" "*Possessor,*" with an undefined Title, but with "Absolute" authority,—of "*His*" Counties of Flint, Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan; *Lordship-Marcher* of a part of the Marches which occupied about half of Wales; *Feudal Lord* in name, but without real power in a further undefined portion of the Marches; and was

without authority, either real or nominal, in "the smallest part" of the Marches.*

In 1536, however, the Twenty-seventh year of his reign, by his great Act of "Annexation," Henry VIII made himself *King* of the whole of Wales; an Act of assumption which was sanctioned and authorized by the *English* Parliament, which was wise enough and foreseeing enough to perceive the benefit that would accrue to Wales itself as well as to England from such a union, and was also powerful enough at that time to enforce its decision.

It will help to clear up much of the obscurity and difficulty connected with the foregoing complicated relationship, if we turn back a couple of centuries and look at the "Statutes of Wales," or, as they are often called, the "Statutes of Rhuddlan," issued by Edward I. himself, after his final conquest over Llewelyn in 1284.

The Statutes of Rhuddlan—12 Edward I—1284.

The Statutes of Wales, or the so-called "Statutes of Rhuddlan" from the Castle of Rhuddlan, whence they were issued, are sometimes spoken of as if they had conferred the title of "King of Wales" upon Edward I. This is a mistaken impression, for Edward does not in them claim that title, nor do the statutes imply it, or assume that they had power to confer it. The language of the statutes themselves is emphatic on this point: "Edward, by the Grace of God *King* of England, *Lord* of Ireland, and *Duke* of Aquitaine, to all his subjects in *his*

* 27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi, s. iii. "Forasmuch as divers and many of the said Lordship Marches, be *now* in the hands and possession of our Sovereign *Lord* the *King*, and the smallest number of them in the *possession* of *other Lords*, &c." They are all thus spoken of as on an equality with the King—quâ "Lordship Marchers"—and in other of his Acts, they are not only spoken of but treated as equals in that respect. See also Stubbs, *Cons. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 108.

Land of Snaudon and of others his Lands in Wales, Greeting in the Lord!"

"The Divine providence hath now [by Edward's conquest over Llewelyn, the last hereditary *Prince* of Wales, and his death in battle] of its favour wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominions the land of Wales with its inhabitants *heretofore* subject to us in feudal right! . . ." What then was the extent of land thus specified as "the land *heretofore* subject to us in *feudal* right," and claimed as in "feudal" right only? Edward goes on to say what it was, viz., "The Land of Snaudon, and others his lands in those parts," and also "Those lands which had *submitted* themselves absolutely to him" (*de alto et basso*)—but nothing beyond this.*

The statute continues—"And the Divine favour hath annexed and united the *same* unto the crown of the *aforesaid* Realm [England] as a member of the same body. We, therefore, being desirous that our aforesaid *Land of Snaudon*, and our *lands in those parts*; and also that the people of *those lands* which have *submitted* themselves absolutely to our will should be protected in security within our peace and under fixed laws, have provided that the Justice of *Snaudon* shall have the custody of the peace of the *King of Snaudon* and *our lands* in Wales *adjoining*; we likewise ordain that there be a Sheriff of Snaudon and our lands in those parts. A Sheriff of Anglesey, a Sheriff of Kayernervan, a Sheriff of Meyronith, a

* This limitation is distinctly acknowledged by Reeves in his *History of English Law* (Finlayson's edition), vol. ii, page 18. "The king, therefore, wishing that the people inhabiting *Snowdon et alias terras nostras in partibus illis* (for to such it was confined and did not extend to all Wales as it is now called) who had submitted themselves to the king *de alto et basso*, should be governed by certain laws as the rest of his dominions, had caused the laws and customs of that country to be rehearsed before himself and his nobles. Some were abolished, some were permitted to remain, some were altered, and other new laws were ordained."

Sheriff of Flint, a Sheriff of Keymarthin, and a Sheriff of Kardigan and Lampadar" [? Lampeter or Llanbadarn], and here Edward's appointments of Sheriffs and Justices end. Pembroke and Glamorgan, and the whole intervening country between the above named "*possessions*" and the *English* shires are treated as still belonging to the Lordship Marchers who then possessed them—some by inheritance from the old "Kings" of the Marches—and others by precisely the same title, viz., by conquest—as Edward's own title to those portions of Wales above named that were in *his* possession.

It must be remembered that William I, the Conqueror of England (but never of Wales), and other kings who succeeded him, gave permission and in some cases charters authorising his Barons or others to *conquer* and hold in possession whatever lands they might be able to capture from the Welsh, which these kings themselves had not been able to take, and therefore never owned, except by the fiction of "*Hinterland*," a title with which we ourselves have lately become so familiar in connection with Central Africa.

What these Barons took was therefore by conquest simply: for the Kings, having no title to Wales themselves beyond what they had actually conquered, and their own self-assumed title of Sovereign or Seigneur, or Over-Lord of Wales—(a title which was constantly disputed, and often successfully resisted),* could not give a title greater than that which they themselves possessed.

These conquering Lords of portions of the Marches became therefore Lordships Marchers of their conquests: and having originally obtained their possessions by the

* "Both the Welsh Princes and the Lords Marchers were in *name* vassals of the Crown, but in *fact* were able to oust all direct influence of the King in their respective territories." Stubbs, *Con. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 108.

sword, they subsequently often defied the English King to take them from them, or to impose any Law upon them beyond their own Will, and the obligation of *feudal* submission to the Over-Lord (whatever that might amount to), that they were willing to yield, or that the English King for the time being might be strong enough to enforce.

Amount and nature of the Tenure of the portions of Wales belonging at different dates to the Kings of England, 1284 to 1536.

The "*Principality*" of Wales possessed by Llewelyn consisted of Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth, and of this Edward I, King of England, became "King" by right of conquest on the death in battle of Llewelyn, who left no descendant. And in the statute of Rhuddlan Edward styles himself "King of Snaudon and the parts adjoining." By conquest also, or by forfeiture from some of the feudal holders, and by cession, voluntary or involuntary from others, and in various other ways, the Kings of England had, in the time of Edward I, or previously, become "absolute" (*de alto et basso*), possessors of the districts of Cardigan and Carmarthen; and in various ways, and at different times, *after* Edward I's reign, the English crown became possessed of the districts of Pembroke and Glamorgan also, which are not mentioned in the Statutes of Rhuddlan, but are described in the Act of 27th Henry VIII, c. xxvi, as "*his* counties of Pembroke and Glamorgan." These would appear, along with Flint, Cardigan and Carmarthen, to have constituted his "Dominion" of Wales, as distinguished from his "Principality." But, further still, by similar processes, the Kings of England gradually became possessed of *portions* of the Marches also, of which they were therefore

"Lordship-Marchers," along with the other Lordship-Marchers who had never surrendered their possessions, or lost them by conquest, forfeiture or otherwise, but still remained really independent powers even to the time of Henry VIII, and were called "kings," and their dominions "kingdoms," by Lord Justice Lyttleton, * so lately as the time of Edward IV. Such a lawyer as Lyttleton was not likely to style them "kings"—dividing their "kingdoms" at will—if they were merely holders of their land in feudal tenure; and they are continually alluded to in Henry VIII's Acts as setting his laws and officers at defiance, and governing their "Lordship Marches" by their own laws or customs, which seems to have meant in reality—*without law*.

The "Statutes of Rhuddlan" a Royal Charter, not an Act of Parliament.

The "Statutes of Rhuddlan" were not in reality an Act of Parliament at all, they were rather a Royal Charter issued under Edward's sole authority and his Great Seal † specifying what belonged to himself personally, and fixing (by right of conquest) what laws should be observed in *his*

* York's *Five Royal Tribes of Wales*, pp. 40–41.

† The concluding clause of the Statutes is: "And so we command you strictly to obey these premises in all things, but so that *whenever* and *as often as we think it expedient*, we can declare *interpret, alter, add to, or diminish them*. In token of which, *our Seal is appended* to these Presents. Given at Rothelan, Quadragessima Sunday noon, in the 12th year of our Reign.

The Statutes of Rhuddlan do not appear among Edward's Acts in the "Statutes at Large" (Hawkins Ed.) though they are published in the Rolls "Statutes of the Realm" vol. i, pp. 55 to 68, and in the *Appendix* to the "Statutes at Large." (Ruffhead's) vol. ix, "containing statutes now obsolete or curious—some of which have never been printed before."

"The Statutes of Rhuddlan were not the result of Parliamentary deliberation." Stubbs, *Cons. History*, vol. ii, p. 117. Also Reeves, *History of English Law*, vol. ii, pp. 12, 16; and also Milman, *Political Geography of Wales*, Arch. Camb. 3rd series, vol. vi, p. 39; see also, Reeves, vol. iii, pp. 221, 228.

dominions in Wales, and also, in a general way, leaving the Marches and the rest of Wales still under their former possessors, to be managed by their own laws and customs, good, bad, or indifferent. This continued to be the case until Henry VIII, in his twenty-seventh year, having by that time become sufficiently powerful to accomplish it, *abolished the Marches*, by converting them into "Shires," which were henceforth to be represented in Parliament by one member each; *paid off*, in some sense, *the old Lordship Marchers*, and *abolished them* also; and lastly *made his laws to rule throughout Wales*, instead of leaving it in the lawless condition in which he found it, when he first ascended the throne as "King of England," "Lord of Ireland," and King of one portion of Wales, Ruler of another, and Lordship Marcher of yet another *portion*, but still of *portions* only, instead of being "King" of the whole of Wales, as he made himself by this great Act of Parliament, and as his successors have been ever since his reign.

Henry VIII's definition of his property in Wales.

Henry's Acts define clearly what was *his*, and what was *not* his, previous to the great Act of his twenty-seventh year, c. xxv.

27 Henry VIII, c. v, sec. 1.—The King's Highness, considering the various robberies, etc., committed within *his* county of Flintshire, in Wales, adjoining the County Palatine of Chester, and also in *his* counties of Anglese otherwise called Anglesey, Cayernarvan, and Merioneth, within *his principality* of North Wales; and also in *his* counties of Cardigan, Cayermarthen, Pembroke and Glamorgan, in South Wales, by reason that common justice hath not been adminstered there in such form as it is in the other places of his realm—It is enacted that the

Lord Chancellor, &c., shall appoint justices, &c., in the *said* counties, who shall have authority, &c., in the *said* counties, clearly implying that only the portions of Wales thus named were the King's ("his") "counties."

Power claimed by Lordship Marchers to harbour offenders against the King.

A portion of the Act of 26 Henry VIII, c. vi, s. xiii, says that the Lords of the Marches *claimed power to harbour offenders* who had escaped into them *against any of the King's* ministers pursuing or apprehending such offenders—and several other sections imply independent authority in the Lordship Marchers in that large portion of Wales.

Adjudication of Fines for Criminal Offences.

To remedy this evil state of affairs, and still to act fairly towards the old Lordship Marchers, it was enacted (26 Henry VIII, c. vi) that sundry specified crimes committed in Wales, if adjoining the English shires, should be inquired into in the shire next adjoining the place where the crime was committed, and fines and forfeiture, etc., should be assessed to the *King's* use *if within any of the King's Lordship Marches*, and if within *any other Lordship Marches*, then to the use of the said Lordship Marchers.—(See p. 104.)

This provision, however, awarded nothing to the King, in the latter case, for his trouble in the matter; an omission that was rectified the following year, as will be seen in the Act of 27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi, s. xxv.

Conversion of "Marches" into "Shires"—and Division of "Fines."

In 27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi, s. iii, he says:—"There are

many Lordship Marches within the country of Wales, *lying between shires of England and Wales*, and not being in part of any shire in *which the law can be used*, where murders, etc., are committed with *impunity*, and *felons are harboured* and escape from justice by going *from one Lordship to another*," (see pp. 103, 104). It was therefore enacted that such Lordship Marches, or parts of them as *belong to the King*, shall be made part of the adjoining shires in England or Wales, and the "residue of the Lordship Marches" between the King and the Lordship Marcher, (*which evidently did not belong to him*) should be made into five counties which were previously non-existent—that the King should appoint Judges and Sheriffs, etc., in these new counties, and any fines or forfeitures, etc., for offences committed in them should be divided equally between the old Lordship Marchers in whose region the offences were committed [as his proprietary share, so to speak, in the culprit] (see p. 104) and the King [for his trouble, etc., in arresting, convicting, and punishing the offenders, and collecting the fines, etc.] This explanation of the equal division of the spoils, though not expressed in so many words in the Act, is unequivocally implied in the language of section xxv of this Act, as follows:—27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi, s. xxv.—"For that before this present Parliament the Lord Marchers have used to put their tenants within their Lordship Marches under such main prize," etc., "*and have had the forfeiture thereof*—let it be enacted that after the next feast of All Saints this shall utterly cease and determine"—and all fines and forfeitures, etc., shall in future be divided equally between the old Lord Marchers and the King.

Henry was determined to put an end if possible to the injurious consequences resulting from this divided authority, and therefore—right or wrong—passed this

great Act, which was unquestionably a most valuable and statesmanlike measure—whether arbitrary or not—and one that has contributed infinitely to the tranquility of Wales, and its freedom from the disturbances and serious crimes which were previously so rife in that country.

First instance in which the King of England has been officially styled "King of Wales,"—and the Preamble to Henry's Act of Annexation.

The first instance that I have been able to find in which the King of England is styled "King of Wales," is in the *Preamble* itself to this very important Act of Henry VIII, which begins "Albeit the *Dominion, Principality and Country* of Wales, justly and *righteously* is and *ever hath been** *incorporate, annexed, united and subject* to and under the Imperial Crown of this realm, whereof the King's most Royal Majesty of mere *droit*, and very right, is very head and *King*, Lord and Ruler, *yet, notwithstanding* because that in Wales divers rights, laws and customs, be far discrepant from the laws and customs of this realm (England), and also because the people of the same dominion have and daily use a speech nothing like the *Natural Mother* † tongue used in the realm, *some rude and ignorant people* (query, is this meant to apply to Henry IV and Henry V, in their Acts of Parliament?) have made distinction between the King's subjects of this

* Edward I, although he introduced the English shire system into Wales, did not completely incorporate the principality with England. Stubbs, *Cons. History*, vol. ii, p. 108. "The Statutes of Rhuddlan really appear to have had little to do with the King's title or power in Wales, except assimilating the Administration of Wales to that of England.—(*Idem*, p. 117.)

† The Science of Philology does not appear to have been much studied when this Act was passed, and the Latino-Saxon-Danish-Norman conglomerate constituting the *English* language was pronounced to be the "*Mother Tongue*" of the Celtic or British spoken throughout England and Wales, before even the Romans had appeared on the scene, much more before the accretion of the Saxons, the Danes, and the Norman-French.

realm and his subjects of the said "Principality" of Wales, whereby great discord hath grown up between his said subjects. His Highness therefore, of a *singular zeal, love and favour, that he beareth* to his subjects of the said "Dominion" of Wales,* minding to extirp all the *sinister usages*, and to bring his subjects to an amicable unity, *hath enacted* that his said Dominion of Wales shall be for ever *hereafter incorporated* and annexed to this his "Realm of England."

What was it then before *this* Act of "Annexation," and what is the real value of all the brave words about "*hath ever been annexed*," &c., in the preamble, when it required re-annexation "*for ever hereafter*," as is done by the Act itself?

Henry himself, only the year before (26 Henry VIII, c. vii.) speaking of "Forests in Wales," says, "many forests being in Wales and the Marches of the same, *as well* in the inheritance and dominion of our Sovereign Lord the King, as of divers others being Lord Marchers," &c. Here he places the "dominions" of the other Lord Marchers on the same level as his own, and had clearly not "annexed" them at the date of this Act.

*King of England henceforth the only Fountain of
Law in Wales.*

It was further enacted by the same great Act (27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi) that the King was HENCEFORTH to be the fountain of law, and also its active administrator *throughout* Wales, parts of which (as has been shown above) were not under his law previously, but were under the irresponsible Lords of the Marches. The act reads, indeed, as if this declaration of being the source and administrator of law *throughout* Wales was a power then

* Note the influence of Henry's Welsh descent upon his language.

newly assumed by the powerful King of England, who had been hitherto only "King of Snowdon" and some other parts specified, and but an imperfect administrator of law even in his own possessions there. After this great act, however, the English Sovereign did become King over the *whole* of Wales instead of over Snowdon only, and he was also Rex (ruler) in reality; for his law did henceforth rule throughout the whole of Wales, and all independent authorities ceased—whether they were petty hereditary "Kings" according to Lord Justice Lyttleton's title, or independent "Lordship Marchers," according to the designation so often bestowed upon them in Henry VIII's own Acts of Parliament.

Titles of the King of England previous to Henry's Act of Annexation.

It is a curious circumstance that the sovereign of England has never been *officially* styled "King of Wales." The title never appears upon the coinage, although "*Lord of Ireland*" was upon it from the time of Henry II; nor is he ever styled "King of Wales" in the enumeration of his titles in any Act of Parliament. "*King of England—Lord of Ireland—Duke of Aquitaine—King of Scotland—King of France—Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg—and even Arch Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire,*" are all rehearsed on the sovereign of George III, 1786, or in Acts of Parliament, but "*King of Wales*"—never. Nor have the Arms of Wales ever appeared in the Royal Standard or upon the coinage. It was not until the twentieth year of George II's reign that Wales was so completely incorporated with England as to require no separate designation in Acts of Parliament. Until that date, when an Act was to apply to Wales as well as to England, the Act expressly stated that it was to apply to "*the Kingdom of England,*

the *Dominion* of Wales, and the *Town* of Berwick-upon-Tweed." In that year, however, an Act was passed—20 George II, c. xlii, s. iii—which enacted "That in all cases when the *Kingdom* of *England*, or that part of Great Britain called England hath been or shall be mentioned in any Act of Parliament, the same has been and shall *from henceforth* be deemed to comprehend and include the *Dominion* of *Wales* and *Town* of Berwick-upon-Tweed;" and since that time "Gallant little Wales" has been in every respect officially part of and partner with her sisters England, Ireland, and Scotland, in helping to rule them, as well as in submitting to their joint rule over herself also.

*Relation of the King of England to Ireland and Wales
previous to Henry's Act of Annexation.*

The relation of the Kings of England to both Wales and Ireland was long very similar, for the Kings of England never laid claim to the title of "*King*" of Ireland until the thirty-third year of Henry VIII, but both on their coinage and in their Acts of Parliament styled themselves simply "*Lord*" of Ireland. In the twenty-ninth year of his reign, however, the *Irish* Parliament invited Henry to take the title of king, but he did not adopt it until the English Parliament also *sanctioned** it in his thirty-third year, by simply including it among his Titles without comment (33 Henry VIII) and from that date the English sovereign was styled King of England and Ire-

* There is no special clause for it in the Act or special allusion to the matter, but in the ordinary enumeration of Titles of the Sovereign at the commencement of each year in the volume of Statutes for that year, Henry VIII is styled "*Lord*" of Ireland in 1541, but *King* of Ireland, without comment, in 1542, and the British Monarch was afterwards so styled until all his titles were merged into "*Rex Britanniarum*," "*King of the British Isles*," by Royal Proclamation in 1800—George III.

land, both on his coinage and in his Acts. The position was however, somewhat different towards Wales, in consequence of Edward I having adopted the title of "King of Snowdon and the lands adjoining." But a portion only of Wales was apparently not thought of sufficient importance to be specifically named on the coinage or in the Acts, and it was omitted in company with the Channel Islands, which were an unchallenged and a still more ancient portion of the King's dominions than Wales itself, which William I never conquered. Until the reign of Henry VIII, no English sovereigns after Edward I appear to have had leisure from other more pressing questions, or else they were deficient in strength of character or of material resources to assume the absolute mastery and kingship of Wales as a whole. But at length, in Henry VIII, favourable circumstances previously without example were combined. Himself almost a Welshman, and without any commanding leader of the native Welsh to oppose him, undisturbed by foreign wars, a king of great intellectual power and determination, and with the overwhelming superiority in material resources that England then possessed, he felt himself strong enough by the twenty-seventh year of his reign to pass this great Act of "Annexation," an Act of the greatest value to Wales itself, and one for which the Principality will ever have cause to remember with thankfulness the "Tudor Period" of its chequered history.

CHAPTER X.—CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WALES MADE BY HENRY VIII.

English people have been so long accustomed to think of Edward I as being the conqueror, and consequently the King of the whole of Wales, and of the infant Prince as

being put before the Welsh as the Prince of the *whole* of that country, and Edward's successors, also as being of course its Kings throughout, that we seldom realise the fact that nearly one half of its area even up to the time of Henry VIII, was not under the rule of the English monarch, and that the Wales of our geographies does not at all resemble the Wales of Edward I, or of Henry VIII, until the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The accompanying map will illustrate the political changes that Henry made in its geography.

*Gradual acquisition of Wales by the English Sovereign
previous to Henry VIII.*

The unshaded counties (with the exception of Pembroke and Glamorgan), represent what Edward I, claimed as *his* dominion. Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth show *his* "Kingdom of Snowdon and the parts adjoining," which used to be the "Principality" of Llewelyn, the head native Welsh "Prince" or "King." Flint, Cardigan and Carmarthen were also Edward's "Dominion," as distinguished from his "Principality," and that was the whole of Wales that Edward I possessed or claimed.

Between his time, however, and that of Henry VIII, the English monarchs had in one way or other become possessed of Pembroke and Glamorgan also, and the eight unshaded counties are all that Henry VIII claimed as being *His* counties previous to 1536. All the portion from north to south shaded green was called the "Marches," and it will be seen that part of it extends far into Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, and also to the seaboard in four of the Welsh counties. This portion was under the rule of the several Lordship Marchers, of whom the King of England became one

among others, in the various ways described in the foregoing pages.

This large portion of the country was not divided into the *counties* named in this map until Henry VIII's great Act of Annexation; and the boundaries of the several Lordship Marches are nowhere defined, and were probably often fluctuating, for they were always fighting among themselves. But by this Act, Henry attached *his* share of the Marches to the English or Welsh counties to which they were nearest, and the dotted lines and dark green shading in Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, etc., shew the boundaries of the portions that were previously *his* "Marches."

Description of the New Counties made by Henry VIII.

He then divided the "residue" of the Marches into five new counties, which he called Denbighshire from Denbigh, its principal town—which he made its county or assize town—Montgomeryshire in like manner from Montgomery, and Radnorshire from New Radnor, Brecknockshire from Brecon, and Monmouthshire from Monmouth, the birthplace of Henry V, "Harry of Monmouth," part of the castle in which he was born still remaining in the condition of a picturesque ruin.

It was further enacted, 27 Henry VIII, c. xxvi, s. 28, that the new *county* of Monmouthshire should be represented in Parliament by *two* members, and the *borough* of Monmouth by one member; and by the following section 29, that the other new *counties* of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh, and "all the other Welsh counties" should be represented by *one* member each; and that there should be one member for each *county town*, *except* in Merioneth. No reason is assigned in the

Act for this exception, but there was apparently no town of sufficient magnitude or importance at that time for a member.

WAS MONMOUTHSHIRE BY HENRY'S ACTS MADE AN ENGLISH OR A WELSH COUNTY?

This is a question of geographical curiosity rather than of practical importance in the present day. But that it is not an easy one to answer is shown by the following conflicting statements:—"Monmouthshire was made an *English* county by Henry VIII."—Johnston's *Gazetteer*. "Monmouthshire was considered a *Welsh* county until Charles II."—*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv. "One of the new counties, *Monmouthshire*, was under Charles II added to an English circuit, and it has since been reckoned as an English county."—Freeman's *Hist. Geog. of Europe*, page 573. "Monmouthshire was not entirely removed from Welsh jurisdiction, until the reign of William and Mary."—Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, "England."

Historically, the portion known as Monmouthshire has from the earliest times been part of Wales, and it formed the southernmost portion of the Welsh Marches when Henry VIII's Act was passed. In the *third* section of that Act, the portions of the Marches are minutely defined that were to form the five new counties. Among them was Monmouthshire, without any apparent distinction from the others, which have always been unquestionably Welsh counties.

But in the *fourth* section of the same Act (sec. 4, c. xxvi, *Statutes at Large*, Hawkins' edition), certain specified legal proceedings are ordered to be conducted in the *Chancery Court* in England, and not in Wales; thus in some sense making it into an English shire, but without

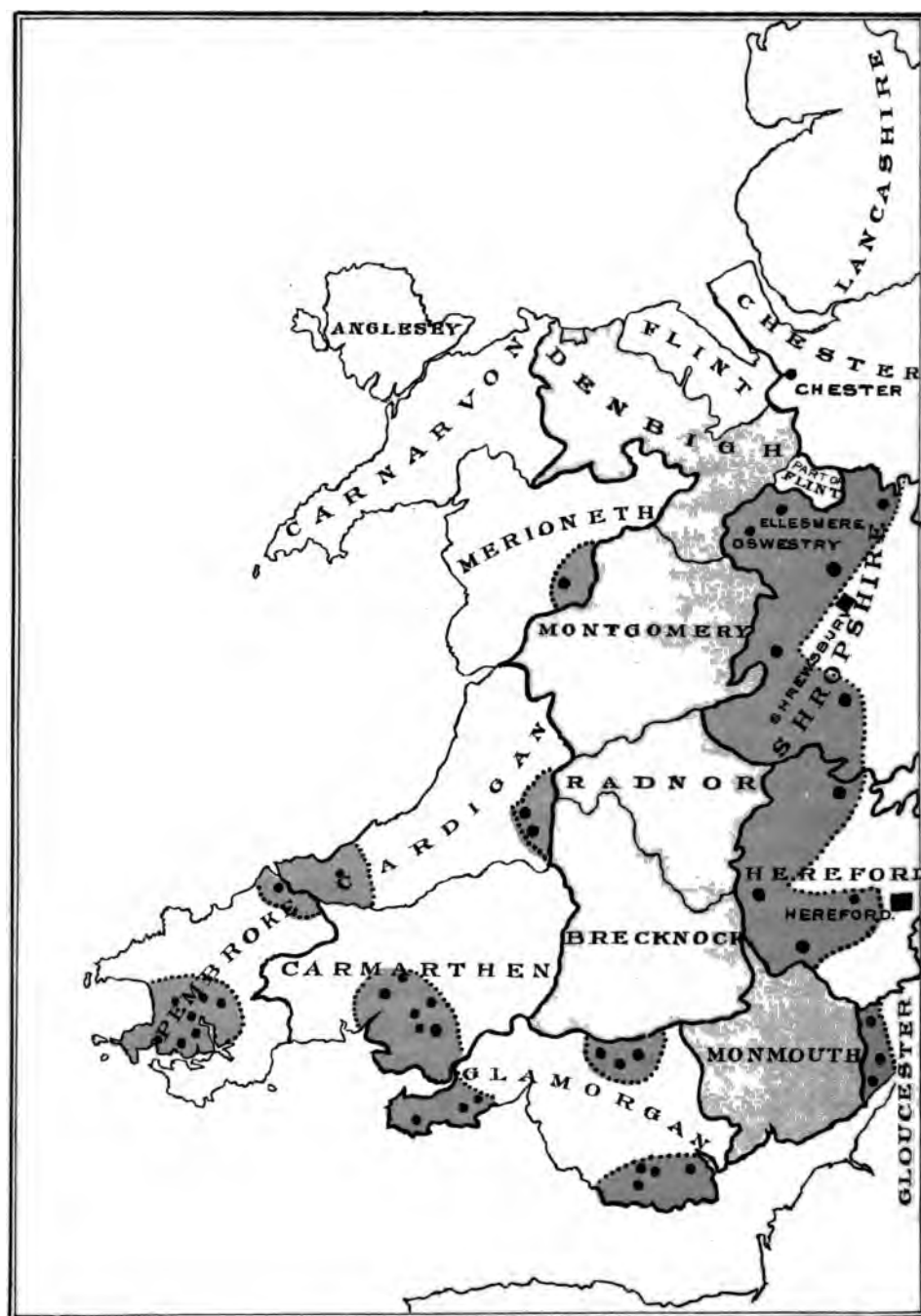
definitely saying so, or assigning any reason for the difference.

Seven years afterwards (34-35 Henry VIII, c. xxvi., sec. 2 and 9), another Act was passed which refers back to the previous Act, and enumerates the counties in Wales as being *twelve*, viz.:—the eight *old* ones and the four *new* ones "*over and beside the shire of Monmouth.*"

But the reservation of certain *Chancery* business did not place the whole legal interests of Monmouthshire in English Courts, and Monmouthshire so far remained in Welsh jurisdiction, and was therefore a Welsh county (*Imperial Gazetteer*), until in the reign of Charles II the county was, for the first time, included in the "Oxford (English) Circuit," and thus appeared to become completely an English county. But, here again, it happened that an ancient Welsh Court having jurisdiction over the Marches, was expressly retained in existence by Henry's Act (34-35 Henry VIII, c. xxvi., s. 4), and held its sittings yearly in Ludlow (Shropshire) for certain cases, and for these, Monmouthshire had still to appear before this ancient court, and *so far*, remained still a Welsh county. By the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, this antique court had, however, become so worthless, if not actually bad, that in their first year (1 William and Mary, c. xxvii) an Act was passed abolishing the court, and transferring all its cases in the future to the English Courts, and thus the last vestige of its Welshhood, except its language, which is still a spoken tongue in some parts, was removed from Monmouth, and it became indisputably an English county from that date.

It is easy, therefore, to see the room for conflicting opinions as to *when, and by what authority, Monmouthshire became an English County.*

The political geography of Wales has not changed since Henry's time, except that Monmouthshire was



finally made completely into an English, not a Welsh county, in the reign of William and Mary (1 William and Mary, c. xxvii) and with the following map, showing the geography of Wales in Henry's time, may be closed this "Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period."

Explanation of the Map.

This map is intended to represent the geographical condition of Wales before and after the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII. The unshaded counties represent "*his*" counties *before* the Act, and the parts shaded green show the boundaries of the Marches *before* the Act. It will be seen that the Marches extended far into the English counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire, reaching closely up to Shrewsbury and Hereford (which are shown by *square* marks) and *slightly* into Gloucestershire. They also extended to the sea coast, and separated Merioneth from Cardigan (both Welsh counties), and also occupied *portions* (more or less considerable) in the *Welsh* counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan. The round black dots indicate the towns or villages, etc., named by Henry VIII in his Act, which were to be added with their "Commotes," "Townships," "Parishes," etc., to the English or Welsh counties on which they adjoined, thus materially enlarging those counties, both English and Welsh. As the reduced ordnance maps show the towns, etc., but do not define their various boundaries (which would often be of some extent) an attempt has been made to indicate them roughly, but as nearly as possible, by the dotted lines which bound these annexations to the various shires, English or Welsh. It is unavoidable, however, that the boundaries must be to some extent conjectural rather than exact under the circumstances of the case.

A FRENCH NOBLEMAN OF THE TIMES OF THE
REVOLUTION; A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND
ADVENTURES OF CLAUDE HENRI ÉTIENNE
BERNARD, MARQUIS DE SASSENAY.

By JOSIAH MARPLES.

THE following attempt to sketch the life of one of the Nobles of France who had the misfortune to live at the stormy end of the last century will probably be found interesting for the glimpses which it gives of the difficulties and dangers under which such men had to exist.

Claude Bernard, Marquis of Sassenay, was born at Dijon on the 25th November, 1760, being the eldest son of François Bernard, Viscount Sassenay. The family of Bernard belonged to the nobility of the bar, and it was somewhat a matter of surprise that the Viscount, who was President of the Chamber, should have broken through the traditions of the family so far as to determine that his eldest son should adopt the sword as his profession; but so it was, and in 1777, when seventeen years of age, young Étienne entered the Duke de Berri's regiment of cavalry as sub-lieutenant, whence in 1781 he was promoted to a captaincy of the Condé Dragoons.

The President died in 1783, leaving our hero his heir so far as he could. The property, when the portions due to his brothers and sisters had been paid, amounted probably to £120,000, which in those days constituted great wealth.

Though only twenty-three years of age the young

Marquis was steady enough to administer his estates wisely, and the six years following the death of his father were, if uneventful, at any rate happy ones. Rich, of good family, and well received in society, the drawing-rooms of Paris were thrown open to him, and he was able to participate in the delights which the pleasure-loving city had to offer in the gay times of the latter half of a century which was to close under the storms of the Revolution, the early rumblings of which were beginning to be heard.

At this time military life to a young officer of rank and fortune was not a hardship. Furlough was easily obtained, and Sassenay did not neglect his opportunities, besides this there was always the chance of good garrison towns. Besançon from 1783 to 1787, Metz in 1788 and 1789, were two cities which abounded in all the resources of a society which in those days did not flock to the capital, and young and handsome officers were sure of a kind reception.

Although only twenty-nine when the revolutionary movement began to make itself felt, Sassenay, by his liberality and good nature, combined with the natural sweetness and dignity of his character, had already gained an influence of which he was to feel the benefit in after years, and which had caused him to be elected by the gentry of the neighbourhood as the representative of Chalon in the States General. The young deputy, though recognising the need of great changes, was not sufficiently advanced to suit the times, and his dislike to the violent scenes in the Chamber, and a feeling of his inability to stem the revolutionary torrent, caused him to resign his seat in November, 1789.

In the early days of the Revolution, life was difficult to those who belonged to the upper classes; they were not safe anywhere. In the country peasants burned the cha-

teaux, and maltreated their owners. In the towns their position was no better. Spies were placed around them, and they were denounced by their servants and tradespeople, and insulted in the streets by the mob. Debtors refused to pay their debts. In the army an officer of noble birth was looked upon with suspicion by his men, who only obeyed him when it suited them. Emigration became the fashion with many, but for still more it was an urgent necessity—they were obliged to quit the country to save the lives of themselves and those dependent on them.

The Marquis was compelled to submit to the common fate. That his chateau was not pillaged and burned, as were many other lordly residences, was owing to the attachment of his old vassals. Revolutionary ideas, however, had penetrated to the districts surrounding Sassenay, though as yet they were tempered by religious feelings that even the Terror was unable to destroy, and for a while the Marquis was able to live quietly in his house near Chalon. This town, however, became a centre of riot very menacing to the neighbouring gentry. Dijon underwent a similar change, and up to the middle of 1792 the nobles seemed to be safer in Paris than in the country.

After his resignation of the Deputyship, therefore, Sassenay lived principally in Paris, but if he found here comparative quiet, he became unpleasantly situated in financial matters. No one paid his debts, neither the farmer who owed rent, nor those to whom he had lent money, while even those who did pay anything paid in depreciated paper currency, any objection to which savoured of aristocracy and was dangerous.

Sassenay hesitated long before deciding to emigrate; to do so was to subject his property to confiscation, but matters became so threatening that, in June, 1792, he

decided to leave France. He took the precaution to obtain from the municipality in which he resided a passport to the United States, with which France was at peace. This passport was made out in the name of Citizen Bernard Sassenay, for titles had ere this been banished from the revolutionary language.

Before starting on his journey Sassenay had gathered together about £1,200, with which sum he took passage in an American ship calling in England, where he disembarked, and, having placed his money in safety, went to join his countrymen on the Rhine. This he considered his duty as an officer belonging to the nobility. Aristocratic ideas in these times were not those of to-day—Country and Royalty were one in their opinion. In fighting the revolution, whose avowed object was the destruction of the throne, the nobles thought they were fighting for France itself.

Sassenay took service in the army of Condé. Many reasons induced him to choose this in preference to that of the princes. He belonged to a regiment bearing the name of Condé, he came from a province of which that house had been governors from father to son to the time of the revolution, in addition to which he had greater confidence in the military talents which had already gained victories in the field than in those of the chiefs of the army of Coblenz. An old dragoon, he joined the cavalry, and was appointed quarter-master in a company commanded by his cousin, Noinville; he had to equip himself and to maintain both himself and his horse upon very slender pay. The campaign of 1792, while it gave the army of Condé no opportunity to distinguish itself, enabled Sassenay to show his devotion to his duty, and gained him many friends, of whom some were able to assist him in after times.

In 1793 the corps of Condé had to fall in with the lot of the army of Coblenz. The Duke d'Anjou, who had spent all his means and exhausted his credit, was unable any longer to maintain his officers and soldiers. The Austrians would find no more money and spoke of disbanding. Each looked after himself, and the Marquis, having at the moment made the acquaintance of Baron Charles de Hompesch, received an offer from him of a lieutenancy in the English service; an offer of this kind made to a poor man with only a sword for a breadwinner was naturally accepted, and he joined the baron.

At this time England had declared war against France, or rather against the French Republic, and, desirous to increase her army, had offered commissions as colonels to any foreign officers who could raise regiments for the foreign legion. Amongst others Hompesch had accepted a commission. He was a Bavarian of ancient family, and had commenced his life in the Austrian service, which he had been compelled to quit for taking too active a part in the opposition of the Hungarian nobility to the court of Vienna. He then joined the Prussian service, where his courage had gained him much renown. Hompesch found Sassenay of much service in the formation of his regiment of hussars. It is probable that into it entered many of the German soldiers who, before the revolution, had been in the French service. In order to protect him in case he was made prisoner, or possibly only to render it more easy to his English and German comrades, he changed his name to Sassenheim, and it was under this name that he received his commission from the War Office and figured in the English army list of 1795.

Hompesch's hussars took part in the campaign of the Duke of York in the Low Countries in 1793-5, and our hero was in the disastrous retreat which followed, during

which the regiment suffered great hardship; to a winter of exceptional severity, an improvident commissariat, an insufficient medical staff which caused the death of nearly all the wounded or sick, was added the ill will of the inhabitants of the various towns, who closed their gates in the faces of their unfortunate allies and refused them shelter. At length, after months of wandering, they reached Bremen. Even then evil fortune pursued them, for when in April, 1795, they took ship for England a severe storm scattered their small fleet.

The English Government recognised the bravery of the Marquis by gazetting him as Captain in July, 1795.

Hompesch was even more unfortunate than his subaltern, for he had been taken prisoner early in 1794, sent to Paris and confined in the Temple, where, up to the fall of Robespierre, his life was in peril. In 1795, when the Republic entered into a treaty with Prussia, he claimed his liberty as a Prussian officer and obtained it. On his way through Alsace he was recognized as having been in the English service, re-arrested and shut up in a cottage. During the night he escaped by a chimney, and gained the Rhine, across which he swam. Falling in with an Austrian outpost in which was an old comrade, he was supplied with clothing and money, and promptly repaired to England, where he resumed command of his regiment.

The Government did not allow the hussars to remain idle long, for in November, 1795, we find them despatched to the West Indies, where since 1793 a war had been carried on at great cost both of men and money. The voyage was frightful: it commenced by a storm in which many vessels were lost with all on board, and subsequent contrary winds, and other accidents of the sea, delayed them so that they did not arrive at St. Domingo till May, 1796. One may imagine the condition of men and horses

after the sufferings of a seven months voyage, but the voyage was only a fitting prelude to the still greater miseries which were in store for them.

St. Domingo was at the time of the revolution the most valuable and flourishing of the French colonies, and had it been promptly attacked it would in all probability have fallen into the hands of the English, unfortunately the small army sent out in 1793 had been unable to make any advance into the country, and in the meantime the proclamation of the Rights of Man had been made in the island by the Government, and much to the astonishment of the authorities, the coloured people took it to themselves, decided that they also had rights, and declared that slavery was at an end. The result as we all know was a frightful war of races which resulted in the negroes founding a Government and forming an army before which, aided by the climate and the yellow fever, our army melted away like snow before the sun. A French historian says that our loss was 30,000 men in the years 1793 to 1798, but a Government return shows that, including all reinforcements, we never sent out there more than 20,000. It is, however, admitted that our loss was upwards of 9,000. Hompesch's hussars were amongst the most severe sufferers, for by the middle of 1797 the regiment which, on the 1st November, 1794, counted 616, could only number 7 fit for service, including officers. The Baron's brother, Christian, had fallen a victim to the fever, but amongst the number who had escaped both fever and ball was Sassenay, now become major.

Reduced to the condition of officers without men, the colonel and the major gave up the strife; the former returned to England, where he was created general, and died in 1812 in a property which he had purchased at Windsor. Not so with Sassenay, however, he did not

return to Europe. The few years which had elapsed since he became an exile had left their mark on him. During the war of 1793, during the retreat from Holland, the voyage across the Atlantic, and the trials in St. Domingo, he had undergone terrible sufferings. Sobered by them he had begun to regret his home, where order was now beginning to reign. He therefore took advantage of the destruction of his regiment to resign his commission and quit the English army. Having been wise enough always to live on his pay, he had preserved almost intact the small sum which he had taken from France, and with this capital he resolved to tempt fortune in the United States.

Lancaster, in the state of Pennsylvania, was the first place of residence of the Marquis, who, however, was known to his fellow citizens only as Bernard Sassenay, Esquire. The principal attraction of this town appears to have been that in it he could live cheaply. He probably found another inducement in the presence of some colonial emigrants to whom he had been commended by friends in St. Domingo. He did not, however, remain there long, but removed in March, 1798, to Wilmington, in Delaware State. Here he met a Creole family, with whom he soon became intimate, and who received him as a boarder. This family, who had been very wealthy in St. Domingo, consisted of six persons—Alexander Bretton des Chapelles, his three sisters, of whom the youngest was unmarried, and his brothers-in-law, Pierre du Bauduy, a colonial emigrant, and Baron John Keating, a former officer of the Irish Brigade. From having lived in affluence before the abolition of slavery, the family found themselves reduced to a very impoverished state, and the gentlemen engaged in business, whilst the ladies busied themselves with household matters.

Kindly received into this family party, Sassenay soon fell a victim to the charms of the youngest sister, Fortunée, and asked her hand. She was twenty years old, and her youth and her pretty figure were all the fortune she had. Notwithstanding his age, for he was then thirty-seven years old, Fortunée reciprocated the affection of Sassenay, and they were married in May, 1798, in the Catholic Church at Wilmington. This little romance was as a ray of sunshine in the life of the Marquis, hitherto so cloudy. They were about equal as to fortune; he could hope for the recovery of his title and his estates in France, she could equally hope for the restoration of their plantations in the Island, but at present their only means were what Sassenay could earn by his industry. His brothers-in-law were engaged in commerce; he followed their example, and worked with them. Their accounts show that they threw much energy and perseverance into their work, and took great pains to secure success.

Owing to the war with Spain, all commerce with South America was carried on by neutrals, who supplied the Spanish colonies with European goods, and imported their produce in return. This business, though of a very risky nature owing to the harshness and caprice of the Spanish Custom House officers, who were always ready to contest the declarations of the importers and to confiscate their cargoes, offered opportunities for great profit. Associating with them a firm in Philadelphia, in order to increase their capital, the brothers-in-law in three years shipped as many cargoes to the River Plate, with the first and last of which Sassenay sailed as supercargo. Of these the first two turned out very well, the third was unfortunate, though they made no loss on it. This arose from the cargo having been seized by the Customs, and only released upon bonds given by merchants of the country,

who, to secure themselves, sold the goods by auction, buying them in at ruinously low prices. The settlement of this matter kept Sassenay at Buenos Ayres from September, 1801, to May, 1803, and it was during this visit that he made the acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, of a compatriot named Liniers, who, in the service of the Spanish Government, was governing the colony. This intimacy was destined very seriously to affect the life of Sassenay.

The five years during which Sassenay had carried on this business were not of the happiest nature. He had passed half of them away from his own hearth, part at sea, part at Buenos Ayres, where during his last visit he had very anxious times, fearing almost daily to find himself a ruined man; and it is scarcely to be wondered at that he decided to adopt the suggestion of his wife and proceed to France, profiting by a decree of amnesty which had been issued by the Senate, and try to recover, at any rate, such part of his property as remained in the hands of the Government.

So far back as 1798, Sassenay had endeavoured to obtain the removal of his name from the list of emigrants. To this end he had applied to the French Resident at Philadelphia, and to the authorities at St. Domingo. Other efforts had been made in France, notably by one of his old colleagues in the Constituent Assembly, whose acquaintance he had renewed while in America, but his name was still in the proscribed list when he met his wife at Orleans in the summer of 1803, where he arrived from Buenos Ayres, and she from Wilmington.

It is generally understood that at this time returning emigrants, who were undoubtedly the best citizens of France, were welcomed with open arms, and at once reinstated in their property and estates, and though this

may have been the wish of Napoleon, who must have felt that in their return was his best hope of a settled and peaceful termination to the revolution, it was by no means to the mind of many of those surrounding him, who were fattening on the forfeited estates which they would have to disgorge when the rightful owners came forward. Hence, when an emigrant did return, he did not always find matters made easy for him. In many cases the State had sold his property, and he could only obtain it by repurchase; but in addition to this, the State, on taking possession of his estates, had not at the same time undertaken to pay his debts or the annuities which were based upon the properties. A noble, therefore, on his return frequently found himself face to face with a heavy list of liabilities and but little to meet them with. In more cases than one this state of things was terminated by the unfortunate owner being shut up in prison for debt.

During three years, from 1803 to 1806, Sassenay had a constant struggle against the scarcely concealed ill-will of the administration before he could obtain first his certificate of amnesty, and then the reconveyance to him of such of his property as had not already been sold, and some forests of which the State had retained possession. To this constant struggle, with its harrassing and humiliating solicitations, Sassenay would probably not have submitted but for the support and encouragement of his wife, who never despaired of success.

This young creole was not an ordinary woman, but was endowed with a rare knowledge of business, and a persevering energy which nothing could daunt. She had a confidence in her star which went far to ensure success, and which was not misplaced. Fortune came at last, but it was another testimony to the truth of the old proverb, "God helps those who help themselves."

When at the end of 1804 Sassenay obtained his certificate of amnesty matters looked so gloomy financially that he was strongly disposed to go back to America and resume his business as a merchant. Except a few fields, his grounds and houses of St. Aubin, Tartre, and Sassenay had been sold. His house and vineyard at Dijon had shared the same fate. Only the forests of Sassenay and of Virey remained in the hands of the State, who offered to restore them to him, but gave him to understand that he would have to pay for them.

Most of the purchasers of the property were willing to restore it on being repaid their purchase money; but this money Sassenay had not. He hoped to recover some important debts, but against this he found that he owed certain sums to his uncle and his brother. These heavy charges he was not in a position to meet, and he found difficulty in arranging them. He succeeded better than might have been expected, thanks to the excellent recollections which he had left behind him in Burgundy.

A year before his return his brother-in-law, the Baron Keating, who had gone to France to forward his interests, wrote to his sister, "Sassenay must return here, he can have no better advocate. It is impossible for any one to be more loved and respected than he is in this country; this is the feeling of all whom I have seen, even those who do not know of my connection with him."

During 1805 Sassenay obtained possession of the unsold properties. The force of public opinion was such that the officials dared not show themselves very hostile, and some even showed him favour. He was thus enabled to settle more easily than many other emigrants with the slow-reckoning authorities. At the same time the recovery of some large payments enabled him to settle with his uncle, who was entitled to an annuity which had fallen

into arrears. This uncle was naturally litigious and he had even commenced proceedings to obtain a mortgage upon the newly recovered property. But all the scraps of his former wealth were insufficient to enable the Marquis to live in France. His greatest difficulty was to obtain the restitution of his forests of Sassenay and Virey. He despaired of success, but his wife determined to appeal to a fellow-creole, the Empress Josephine. The Empress had a kindly feeling both to the old nobility and to her compatriots of the colonies, and on Madame Sassenay being presented to her by a friend she received her request favourably, and moved in it so promptly that by a decree of April 22, 1806, Sassenay was put in possession of 380 hectares of forest land which the State had appropriated.

Two months later the Marquis purchased for 40,000 francs his chateau of Sassenay. It required much to make it habitable. The furniture was gone, and the interior had been much defaced by the neighbours, who had made it a meeting place for their reunions. The park, of 150 acres within the walls, which was the glory of the place before the Revolution, had been dug up and turned into arable land, and the flower-beds and borders which surrounded the house had been used as a market garden. In a word, all that had made the old place a charming residence had disappeared. Sassenay entered into possession, and commenced the life of a gentleman farmer, without, however, altogether giving up his business as a merchant. It was in fact necessary for him to make money. Notwithstanding the restitution which had been made, the claims of the uncle and brother left only some £200 per annum as the income from the estates.

Amongst the humiliations with which the Revolution visited those whom its rule had compelled to leave the

country was one which pressed hardly on Sassenay and his wife. According to the new law, all marriages celebrated abroad, even though in strict conformity with the old laws, were nul and void. If a fresh marriage had not been celebrated before the republican authorities these unions remained unacknowledged, the wives were only mistresses, and the children illegitimate. To avoid this inconvenience M. and Madame Sassenay were re-married on January 26th, 1806, in Paris, when they also acknowledged their two children, a daughter born in 1799, and a son in 1805.

The Marquis did not give up the idea of returning to America till the end of 1806. The state of the country was so changed, that he found the new-born liberty did not by any means compensate him for his lost privileges or riches, and he did not appreciate it so much as he did that which he had enjoyed in the United States. He therefore endeavoured to make an exchange of his properties for an estate at Dover, in Virginia, but owing to the exorbitant value set upon the latter estate by its owner, M. d'Aguesseau, a descendant of the Chancellor of that name, the negotiations fell through. The result of this was that Sassenay devoted himself to a careful administration of his property, retaining his share in the commercial operations of his brothers-in-law.

In the midst of his duties as head of a family, anxious to secure the future of those dependent on him, he was surprised to receive in May, 1808, an order from the Emperor to join him at Bayonne.

At that time Napoleon having in great measure conquered Spain, and holding in his power the late kings Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, turned his avaricious eyes to the colonies of South America which owed allegiance to Spain. These were undoubtedly the richest jewels

in the crown of Spain, and they remained loyal to the mother country—although the recent rupture of the ties which bound the United States to England had shown them that the connection was not an inalienable one. Napoleon thought that as he had no means of forcing the colonies to accept his rule, he would endeavour to persuade them that it was to their interest to do so, rather than to take advantage of the fall of the house of Bourbon to assert their independence. His opinion was that if he could gain the leaders—the governors and those immediately surrounding them—the rest of the people would follow *en masse*. Amongst the eleven viceroys or governors there was one who was a Frenchman, named Liniers, who by his great military talents and bravery had so impressed the people of La Plata as almost to force the home government to appoint him viceroy of Buenos Ayres.

Liniers was attached to the old *régime* in Spain, but, like many of his contemporaries, he was dazzled by the successes of Napoleon, and on two occasions in 1806 and 1807, he had written to congratulate him upon them, so warmly as to lead the Emperor to think that he would readily accept the transfer of power to his brother Joseph. This hope was the more reasonable as Liniers had felt keenly the miserable depths to which his adopted country had fallen, and it seemed likely that he would gladly hail the accession of a new dynasty capable of raising Spain to a position worthy of her past traditions.

As soon as he decided upon approaching Liniers, Napoleon looked round for a man capable of undertaking and carrying to a satisfactory termination so delicate a negotiation. This was not an easy matter. Under the Empire there was but little communication between France and South America, and very few travellers of any social rank had visited the Argentine Provinces.

The minister Maret found the needed man. A few months before he had met at dinner the Marquis of Sassenay, who, as we have seen, had known Liniers, and who had also formed a great friendship for him, when pursuing his business as a merchant. During the dinner the talk had turned upon the recent triumphs of the Viceroy of La Plata, which had caused some stir in France. The Marquis had spoken of Liniers with the enthusiasm of a friend, and recounted with much vigour his exploits at Mahon and Gibraltar; he had praised his character and talents, and so interested the minister that he never forgot the evening nor his conversation. He proposed, therefore, to the Emperor to send Sassenay to Buenos Ayres. He knew that he had courageously supported the trials of emigration. He felt that his loyalty was unimpeachable, and had no fear but that, though attached to the Bourbon family, he would conscientiously fulfil any mission which he undertook, and Napoleon determined to avail himself of his services.

It was, as we have stated, a matter of great surprise to Sassenay when he saw stop at his door a post-chaise from which descended an imperial messenger carrying an order from the Emperor requiring his presence; he sought in vain to obtain from the messenger some idea of the reason for this summons, but the latter knew nothing, his orders simply being to bring the Marquis to Bayonne. Hurriedly making some slight preparation, he embraced his wife and the children sadly enough, and took his seat in the chaise, which still waited, and which bore him away as quickly as was practicable at that time, and as he was on imperial service we may be sure no time was lost, though it seemed long to the poor Marquis, seeking in vain for a reason which could induce the government to summon him.

He arrived at Bayonne on the 29th May, 1808, and

after changing his costume, he at once went to the chateau where the Emperor was living, and was admitted to his presence. The audience was short and characteristic. Napoleon paced the room. Scarcely had Sassenay entered than he asked him brusquely, "Do you know M. Liniers?" "Yes, Sire," replied the Marquis. "Then Maret told the truth," said the Emperor, "since that is the case, I am going to send you on a mission to the Viceroy of La Plata." "I am at your Majesty's orders," responded the Marquis, "but I should like to return home to regulate my affairs before undertaking so long and dangerous a voyage." "It is impossible," was the reply, "you must start to-morrow, you have only twenty-four hours in which to make your preparations. Make your will. Maret will see that it is sent to your family. Now go and find Champagny, who will give you your instructions," and with a sign Napoleon dismissed his astonished visitor.

Sassenay took his leave and went to see Champagny, the foreign minister, who, after having discussed at some length what he knew of Liniers and La Plata, told him shortly the object of the mission, without, however, telling him that a squadron was then being fitted out to follow him in a fortnight with an army of three thousand men. In dismissing him, the minister told him that he would send despatches for the colonial authorities, and, for himself, sealed orders which he was not to open till he was at sea. Sassenay then went to visit the minister Maret, who was prodigal in his promises, and in order to give him an official rank, appointed him to a private secretaryship. After these official visits, the Marquis attended to his own matters. As suggested by the Emperor, he made his will, drew up instructions to his agent in Burgundy, and wrote a farewell letter to his wife, in which he did not deceive her as to the perils of his journey. These

duties completed, he endeavoured in the few hours left him to purchase such articles as he would need for his long voyage.

The Emperor had been troubled as to the best mode of frequent communication with the French and Spanish colonies, and after much discussion with authorities on the subject, had decided, in order to evade the English cruisers, to employ a number of small vessels, and a merchant brig had been bought which had the reputation of being a quick sailer. The dockyard at Bayonne was only badly supplied with cannon, so the brig was but insufficiently armed, her artillery consisting of one thirty-two-pounder, two eight-pounders, and four small cannon. She carried six hundred muskets and some ammunition which the Emperor sent for the use of the authorities of the colony.

M. Champagny having sent a valise full of despatches and the sealed packet of his own instructions, the Marquis embarked at four o'clock of the afternoon of May 30.

The brig was named the *Consolateur*, and was commanded by Lieutenant Dauriac; there was also a second passenger, a merchant named Julien Millet, who was going to seek his fortune in the new world. It is to his pen that we owe our account of the voyage. It commenced badly, for in the night following their departure the *Consolateur* met with a gale of wind so violent that she was almost lost, and did sustain serious damages. When these were repaired she took her way, seeking to evade the English cruisers, which swarmed on the coasts of Spain and Portugal.

When the Marquis opened his secret orders he was much disheartened; there does not appear to have been any copy of these kept, and we can therefore only conjecture their nature. It was evident that the communications

which he was instructed to make to Liniers were not such as he thought would be favourably received, and there can be little doubt that he was instructed to destroy these orders when read, so that they should not fall into the hands of the English in case his brig was captured. The Spaniards only succeeded in securing his general orders, which were to the effect that M. de Sassenay was to embark at once to convey to the authorities of the colony the despatches which were handed to him. Before landing, he was to arrange where the brig was to await him, and to fix upon some place where it was not likely to be captured by the English cruisers, Monte Video being suggested as probably the most suitable port.

The despatches were to be given to M. Liniers, to whom he was also to give full information of the state of matters in Spain and France, and to tell him what he had heard in Bayonne, especially as to the satisfaction felt in Spain at so great a change having been made in its prospects by the substitution, for the old effete form of government, of a new one giving promise of a revival of the ancient glories and ancient prosperity, and so forth. For himself, M. de Sassenay was to take note of the manner in which his mission was received, especially by Liniers. If possible, he was to learn also how the news was received in Chili and Peru. He would doubtless have much information to bring back, and was therefore to return as quickly as possible, and he would, of course, arrange for his departure as soon as he should have received M. Liniers' despatches.

In spite of the quick sailing qualities of the *Consolet*,^{er} she was seventy days on the voyage. After escaping from contrary winds in the Bay of Biscay, she met with south winds which forced her to tack constantly for two or three weeks. Life on a small sailing vessel in those days, it

need hardly be said, was a very different matter to that in the magnificent floating hotels with which we are familiar. There was an utter absence of comfort—the food was execrable, preserved meats were scarcely known in the navy in 1804. For three-fourths of the voyage they were reduced to biscuits, dried vegetables, and salt meat, which brought on scurvy. This was washed down with water kept in wooden casks, where it putrefied. Add to these the constant fear of meeting with an English cruiser, whose advent might mean the imprisonment of them all, and we may readily imagine that the voyage was not quite what De Sassenay had looked for a few weeks before when laying out the scheme of his future life. The voyage finished as it had begun; on arriving in the latitude of La Plata they fell in with a hurricane, which drove them back six hundred miles. When this ceased, they endeavoured to reach the coast again and get to Monte Video. Light contrary winds having kept them away for about five days, Sassenay determined to land at Moldenado, a small port at the mouth of the river, where they cast anchor at 8.30 on the morning of August 9. An hour later the French envoy landed, carrying with him only the valise containing despatches, and a light port-manteau. Knowing the country, he was aware that he would have to travel on horseback, so he left behind him all his heavy baggage, which he was never to recover. Before leaving the vessel, he instructed the captain to go up to Monte Video and wait for him there. These orders the captain was unable to execute, for on quitting Moldenado he was chased by two English vessels of 80 and 74 guns. Unable to combat such a force, he endeavoured to flee, but the wind failing him he beached the brig, and on the English ships sending pinnaces filled with marines the French crew threw themselves overboard and swam to

land. The enemy boarded the wreck and stripped her of everything but the muskets, which they neglected. All this occurred on the 10th, the day after Sassenay landed, and the news was quickly conveyed to Buenos Ayres, for he was told of it in his interview with the Viceroy.

The Marquis was well received by the officer commanding at Moldenado, who readily gave him a pilot for the ship, and horses and an escort for himself. He quickly traversed the thirty leagues which separated him from Monte Video, where he arrived the next day. He presented himself at once to the Governor of this important fortress, Dom Xavier Elio, who received him kindly, but who, after hearing what news he brought from Bayonne, made no effort to conceal his regret. Monte Video was at the moment making arrangements for the ceremony of acknowledging the accession of Ferdinand, and taking the oath of allegiance to him. Sassenay suggested that the ceremony should be postponed till he heard what orders would be given by the heads of the colony at Buenos Ayres after they had read the despatches which he brought. He did not know their contents, but he had no doubt they contained instructions based upon what he knew had taken place at Bayonne, which would, of course, render unnecessary the proposed ceremony. Elio replied, he had no power to postpone it, and he was afraid if he tried there would be a rising among the people, which he did not care to risk. He suggested at the same time that the envoy had better not go to Buenos Ayres, for Liniers, surrounded by large numbers of the notables of the country, would have little power to protect him in case his news provoked hostility. This discouraging reply, however, could not stop Sassenay, who said that his orders were imperative to take the despatches to Liniers, and he begged Elio to assist him on his journey at once, a request which Elio granted,

giving him the escort of one of his staff, Captain Igarzabal, and on the 11th they left Monte Video. In two stages they traversed the forty-four leagues which separated them from Colonia, where they arrived on the evening of the second day. Quickly as Sassenay had travelled, he had been forestalled in his news by the messengers which had been sent by the Governor of Moldenado to Buenos Ayres. Thanks to the rapid riding of the Guachos, Liniers had heard of the arrival of Sassenay in time to send a gunboat, commanded by his son, to bring him across the river. (Monte Video, it must be borne in mind, is on the north shore of the La Plata, and Colonia is the town on the north side opposite to Buenos Ayres on the south, the river being many miles wide at this point.) The passage was fortunate, and the travellers arrived at Buenos Ayres on the morning of the 13th August. If Sassenay had counted upon a kind reception from his old friend, he was doomed to a signal disappointment. On their arrival, young Liniers had taken the Marquis and his companion to a large reception room, where he left them to wait two hours.

The arrival of an envoy from the Emperor of the French had, in the first instance, startled Liniers, and when he learned—partly from Elio's messenger, and still more from his son, who had conversed with the Marquis in his passage across the river—what important events had taken place at Bayonne, he was in great perplexity. There can be no doubt he professed, and had given strong utterance to, a great admiration for the Emperor. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that his first impulse would be to welcome a revolution which, by substituting for the old degenerate family of rulers a new one, and by uniting the colonies in some sense to his own country, would open out to him a fine field for promotion,

and splendid opportunities for future distinction. On reflection, however, the mode by which Napoleon had dethroned Ferdinand had so excited the anger of the colonists and of the Creoles that his influence would be absolutely unable to induce them to accept the usurper whom Napoleon wished to impose upon them. He felt that his nationality would cause him to be suspected, so he resolved to act with great circumspection, and not to take any action which could be interpreted against him; he therefore caused the members of the government and of the municipality to be summoned, and in their presence he received the envoys.

When at length Sassenay was introduced into the presence of Liniers and his councillors, he went forward to embrace his old friend, who, however, withdrew himself, and, addressing him in Spanish, said in a cold tone that he could only receive him as an envoy of the Emperor, and asked him to declare, in the face of the Council, the object of his visit. The Marquis—disconcerted for a moment by this unlooked for reception—soon regained his assurance, and replied, also in Spanish, that he had been charged by his Sovereign to convey to the Viceroy and the colonial authorities some important despatches, saying which he handed to Liniers the valise containing them. After having had the case opened, the Marquis was requested to retire, and was conducted to the room in which he had already spent a great part of the morning.

After the departure of the envoy, Liniers had the despatches read to the Council. They were of all sorts. Amongst others, however, two were of great importance. These recorded the renunciation on the part of Ferdinand and his father, Charles IV, who had already abdicated in favour of his son, of all claim to the throne of Spain,

which they gave absolutely into the hands of Napoleon. These were accompanied by a despatch from the foreign minister announcing that Napoleon had transferred the rights thus ceded to him to his brother Joseph, who had convoked the Cortes to meet at Bayonne to give effect to these changes. These despatches, which had been sent so hastily that some of them were not signed, were drawn up with much skill. Promises and threats were mingled, so as to commend the cause of Joseph to the minds of those who listened to them. Other confidential letters from the Spanish ministers addressed to the Viceroy instructed him to acknowledge the new King, and finally a decree from the Council of Castille, by which, in consequence of the events which had recently occurred, the viceroys, etc., were ordered to prevent the oath-taking which had been previously arranged.

These documents at once gave rise to an explosion of anger against Napoleon, and to protestations of devotion to Ferdinand. In the long discussion which followed, several members proposed to take violent measures against the envoy, and to secure his person. Thanks to Liniers, the matter was not carried so far, and a more moderate course was decided on. Sassenay was recalled, and the Viceroy informed him that the colony had quite decided to acknowledge no king but Ferdinand, that he was to return at once to Monte Video where he would receive despatches to the Emperor, and where he would find the crew of the *Consolateur* and means to return to Europe. Liniers also required him to give his word of honour to keep secret the news he had brought, threatening him with severe measures in case of refusal. Having received these decisions of the Council, the Marquis was removed to another part of the building, where he was left alone.

At dinner time, Liniers sent for the envoy to take his

place with them, and he found, besides the family of the Viceroy, several invited guests, probably members of the Council. After dinner he was sent back to his solitude, having been told that he was to leave that night. The weather, however, having become unfavourable, his departure was postponed till next day. During the night, when he had just made up his mind he was not to have any conversation with Liniers, the latter suddenly entered his room. The following is Sassenay's account of this meeting :—

Before embarking I had an opportunity of speaking privately with M. de Liniers. He apologised, I think sincerely, for the manner in which I had been received by him, saying that his position required it—that he had no regular troops, that his authority only existed in public opinion, which would turn against him the moment he ventured to oppose what seemed to be the popular feeling. I was the more satisfied of this, because I saw he was entirely dependent on the municipal government for money to pay his troops. He assured me that he wished for nothing better than to change the government which had shown itself so ungrateful to him for all the services he had rendered to it—in leaving him only Viceroy *pro tem.* instead of confirming him properly—but he was compelled to act with prudence, and wait his opportunity. Meantime, he would find me means to return at once, that I might make my report, in order that men and money might be sent to him, when he would gladly fall in with our views, that his own interest and the high esteem in which he held the Emperor would bind him to the new dynasty, to which he was personally attached.

This language of Liniers seems at first quite inconsistent with the devotion which he had just exhibited towards Ferdinand. The contradiction, however, is only apparent. Profoundly attached to the country of his adoption—although he could not entertain much respect for the degenerate descendants of Philip V—Liniers was principally concerned to preserve the colonies to the mother country, no matter who reigned at Madrid, and it was under the influence of this dominant idea that he acted

now, and that two years later he sacrificed both his fortune and his life to maintain the colony under the sceptre of Ferdinand.

At the time when the news of the abdication of Charles IV and his son was received, Liniers believed, with most of his contemporaries at the beginning of the war of Spanish Independence, that Napoleon would soon triumph, and that in a very short time his brother would reign undoubted master of the Iberian Peninsula. Liniers' anxiety, therefore, was to delay the secession which he feared till the position of Joseph on the throne was fixed, and then with money and men to return the colony to the Emperor and his brother, towards whom both his sympathies and his interests drew him.

Liniers and Sassenay spent the whole of the night of the 13th-14th August in conversation. The former had much to learn, he knew nothing of recent European affairs but what the despatches told him, and he talked long with his old friend in order to learn what had passed at Bayonne and in Spain. In leaving him—never to see him again—he repeated his promise to give him means to return quickly to Europe, which he did in effect by sending him, before his departure from Buenos Ayres, a letter to his agent in Monte Video, Don Ortega, who placed at his disposal what money he needed for his outfit and his voyage, in addition to which he wrote to Elio, and, without betraying himself, recommended him to treat the French envoy well, and to help him to depart to Europe as quickly as possible.

On the morning of the 14th, Sassenay was put on board the *Belen*. The bad weather continued, and rendered it dangerous to start, so he remained on board the whole day with Liniers' son and the officers, and dined with them. In the evening they transferred him, with his guardian, to

another gunboat, but that was equally unable to sail. On the 16th, Sassenay, having written to ask for a vessel better adapted to cross the river in a rough sea, was put on board a felucca, which weighed anchor at three o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Colonia the next morning. Less pressed for time on his return than on his arrival, Sassenay took nearly three days to get to Monte Video, where he arrived on the 19th, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

A few hours previously there had arrived a schooner from Cadiz in fifty days. It landed a delegate from the Central Junta of Seville, who brought news which enabled Elio to give free vent to the hatred which he secretly cherished against the French, against Napoleon, and against Liniers.

Goyeniche, the envoy, announced to the colonial authorities that war had been declared between Spain and France, and that all of the latter nation who had been found in the Peninsula had been pitilessly massacred by the maddened populace. He brought orders for the imprisonment of all the French people living in Spanish America. The news rapidly spread at Monte Video, and already the excited natives were insulting the French. Sassenay was informed of this by Elio. On his arrival he had gone straight to the Governor, who gave him a reception which astonished Igarzabal, his companion, who had seen him kindly treated by his master. The Spanish General declared brutally that he and all the officers and crew of the *Consolateur* were prisoners; then he told him of the declaration of war, and the massacre of his companions in Spain, and added that all who served the tyrant deserved to be treated in a similar way. He then placed him in the custody of one of his staff, giving orders that he should be taken to a bakehouse outside the city, where

the commandant of the *Consolateur* was already confined.

This officer had arrived a few hours earlier; at Moldenado, he had been kindly received; the commander there had furnished men to recover the muskets which the English had not taken, and he had secured 400 out of the 600 on board, which the Spanish had gladly accepted. On the 18th, on the invitation of General Elio, who had sent an aide-de-camp for them, the French sailors had gone to Monte Video in carriages supplied by the commandant. They arrived on the 20th, preceded by their captain, Dauriac, who arrived twenty-four hours earlier, and who had been installed in the village of Aguada, outside the town, where to his great surprise he was guarded by a dozen soldiers. Astonished at a reception so different from what he had been led to expect, he asked for an explanation, which he soon received when Sassenay was brought to join him, and told him that they were prisoners of war. The Marquis did not long remain with his companion in misfortune. During the day he was, by order of the governor, conveyed to the citadel and shut up in a cell, despoiled of his papers. Thus commenced a long and cruel captivity; not daring to attack Liniers directly, Elio held his victim, and wreaked upon him all the hatred which he had in his heart against his glorious and valiant chief.

Sassenay remained for six long months in solitary confinement, treated not as a prisoner of war, but as a malefactor of the worst kind. His companions in the *Consolateur* had been sent inland, where they enjoyed comparative freedom, and some two score of merchants and others who were imprisoned in order to save their lives at the time of the outbreak following the declaration of war, speak highly of the kindness of Elio, who supplied all their

needs, and after a while even allowed them to visit Monte Video under guard. Millet, a passenger in the *Consolateur*, managed to escape, and reached Buenos Ayres. He had a letter from Sassenay to Liniers, and it was from him that Liniers heard the first news of Sassenay since he had left.

During those six long months of solitary confinement, Sassenay's only comfort was the portrait of his wife, which his gaolers had left him. At the end of this period he endeavoured to escape, but was pursued, recaptured, and put in irons. As Liniers was no longer governor of Buenos Ayres, Elio sent Sassenay there to be tried by court martial for endeavouring to escape. That he was not condemned to death was owing to the influence of Liniers, who, though out of office, had not yet left the city. Sassenay was ordered back to gaol in irons, and no foreign cruiser being reported in the river, it was decided to send him by water. A curious incident, which narrowly escaped being fatal, occurred on the voyage. Sassenay was chained in the hold of the vessel, beside a cage containing a tiger. The space was so small that he was fixed between the cage and the side of the ship. Whether the bars of the cage were loose, or whether the working of the ship loosened them, does not appear, but they widened out so that the animal put his paws through and laid hold of the dress of the Marquis, who, unable to escape, was in danger of his life. His cries, however, brought his guards, who took him away.

If his first captivity was cruel, the second was still more so. During his residence at Buenos Ayres, Sassenay had procured, in exchange for his draft on one of his correspondents in the United States, a sum of \$400, with which he hoped to "sweeten" his gaolers, but the implacable Elio took good care to prevent this, for he was

searched, and the money taken from him. During five more months the unfortunate Marquis languished in his cell, shamefully fed, and prevented from moving freely by an iron bar fastened to two rings which were riveted on his ankles. He received with gratitude the announcement that he was to be sent to the hulks at Cadiz.

In December, 1809 (sixteen months after his arrival), he with a portion of the officers and crew of the *Consolateur* were shipped on board an English sloop of war, the *Mercury*, which landed them at Cadiz in February, 1810. The Marquis and his brother officers were taken to the hulk *La Vieille Castille*, where he found a great number of officers and soldiers held in captivity by the Spaniards in violation of the capitulation of Baylen. Happily on the hulk Sassenay was treated as an officer.

At the time Sassenay landed at Cadiz, Marshal Victor had come to besiege it. The town is situated at the northern extremity of a tongue of land, narrow at its base and broader at its summit, which, joining at the south, at the Isle of Leon, runs parallel to the mainland, from which it is separated by a large bay; at the time of which we write, this bay sheltered a fleet of English and Spanish men-of-war. As it was impossible to attack the city by the tongue of land referred to, it could only be approached from the peninsula of Trocadero on the opposite side of the bay, and Marshal Victor had commenced the operations of the siege by bombarding the forts of the peninsula.

The success of the French had exasperated the Spaniards, while it raised the hopes of the prisoners; escapes became frequent, and added to the annoyance of the gaolers, who decreed the punishment of flogging against the soldiers, and even, in case of a second attempt, against the officers who endeavoured to escape. These threats only irritated the prisoners. On February 28, a

number of them managed, in spite of the distance and the roughness of the sea, to escape by swimming, and to reach the shore where the besieging army was encamped. On the 7th March a terrible storm arose. Twenty merchant ships, three Spanish men-of-war, one Portuguese, and an English brig, were thrown on the coast occupied by the French. This storm was the cause of horrible sufferings, and the death of 1,100 to 1,200 of the prisoners. During five long days they were left by the Spaniards to the pangs of hunger and thirst. Much greater horrors would have been endured but for the courage of a negro sailor, who to save his comrades braved the storm, and by swimming succeeded in reaching the ship of the English Admiral, who, as soon as he heard of the dreadful condition of the prisoners, ordered all the ships of the fleet to send provisions to the hulks. The order was quickly obeyed, but the avidity with which the prisoners ate the provisions caused much suffering. On the seventh day the Spaniards brought provisions—the bread was hard, mouldy and bad; an observation to this effect by a French officer elicited the reply that it was good enough for French dogs. The prisoners had hardly recovered from this terrible trial when the commandant of the hulks told them of a decree of the Governor of Cadiz, dated March 10th. This decree informed the prisoners that each time that an escape was effected from one of the hulks two of those left behind should be at once hung, besides the prisoner if he were re-taken. The officers protested vigorously against such a decree as contrary to all the laws of war, but their protest was disregarded, and the terrible menace remained suspended over them.

A few days after the storm, Sassenay was able to send news to his family. He wrote on March 15th to his brother-in-law, Bauduy, at Wilmington, a letter which

reached him, probably by some American trader leaving Cadiz. Notwithstanding all the efforts which she had made his wife had been unable to obtain from the ministry any news of her husband after his leaving Bayonne. She knew only that he had been thrown into prison, and that he was believed to be still alive.

In January, 1810, she determined to go and seek him. The enterprise was not by any means an easy one, but the Marchioness, as we have seen, was one of those energetic women who are not easily discouraged by obstacles. It was necessary first of all to secure the support of the government, and, thanks to Josephine, who, though divorced and living in retirement at Malmaison, had still some influence, she obtained an audience of the Emperor. Napoleon did not like unfortunate or unsuccessful agents, and Sassenay being one of these he received the Marchioness badly, almost brutally. The haughty creole however was not frightened, but held up her head and insisted on his hearing her. After reminding him that he was the cause of her husband's misfortune, having sent him, without consulting his wishes, upon a perilous mission, she said boldly that she had a right to demand his support in her endeavour to find him, and she requested permission to go to England. She pleaded her cause so well that she gained her end. Not only did she obtain the permission she sought, but she received, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 20,000 francs for her voyage, and an assignment to Sassenay, as the cost of his mission, of a salary of 6,000 francs, to count from the 1st May, 1808.

After confiding her son, aged five, to one of her relations, and placing her daughter in a boarding-school, the Marchioness embarked at Nantes in a fishing vessel. Although at war, the French and English governments at

that time granted "safe conducts," which were respected under certain circumstances, and the Marchioness had one of these. The voyage was abominable, and lasted twenty-seven days, during which time the poor lady was suffering sea-sickness, and when landed at Plymouth she was exhausted.

Going to London she at once set to work. She knew the names of all those who had been connected with her husband, both in the corps of Condé and in the English army. She appealed to their friendship, and asked their help. Her first intention was to go to Buenos Ayres to obtain, by the help of the English government, the release of her husband, but this was checked by her learning on her arrival in London that English ships had been sent to Rio to take to Cadiz all the prisoners who were there. By enquiries, or possibly by a letter from her brothers-in-law, she learned that Sassenay had been at Cadiz since February. She wished then to obtain his exchange. If he had been on an English hulk there would have been little difficulty, but he was a Spanish prisoner. The ministers of George III were little disposed to meddle in the matter, and the Marchioness was compelled to use all the influence she could. The resident French intervened actively, and in order to excuse Sassenay for having served Napoleon, they stated that he had been taken between two gendarmes from Chalon to Bayonne in order to embark. But the most useful auxiliaries which the Marchioness found were some great English ladies whom she knew, and who helped her, and success at last crowned their efforts. On May 28th, the Foreign Secretary wrote a despatch to the English Ambassador at the Court of Spain, in which he asked him to obtain the release of Sassenay and send him to England. When this despatch arrived at Cadiz, the Marquis was no longer in the hands of the Spaniards. In

order to find the reason of this, we must go back to where we left off in describing his captivity.

From the tempest in March to the beginning of May the treatment of the prisoners in the hulks continued to be as harsh as ever. The Spaniards, irritated at the progress of the French siege, showed themselves daily more cruel and more inhuman. On April 22, the fort of Matagorda, on the peninsula of Trocadero, fell into the hands of the French army. From this fort they were able to bombard Cadiz, and they were also masters of the communication of the city with the Isle of Leon, whence it obtained its drinking water. The prisoners, while rejoicing in the success of their compatriots, were alarmed lest they should die of thirst if the vessels were prevented from bringing them water, and they also anticipated that in case of bombardment the Spanish ships would go behind their hulks, so as to place them in the line of fire. These continual fears brought to a head the exasperation of the prisoners, and they determined to attempt an escape. A small number of them, bolder than the rest, formed a project to seize the hulk and run it aground on the shore occupied by the French. This was almost an act of madness; the *Vieille Castille* was moored between several Spanish and English vessels, some of which were anchored between her and the shore. In casting the hulk adrift they risked being boarded by one of these vessels, or being raked by their fire in passing them. But nothing could daunt the conspirators, who were but few in number. Lieutenant Dauriac, who had commanded the *Consolateur*, and who had been in the hulk since the 2nd of May, was one of the leaders, and he told Sassenay, who received the information with enthusiasm, the dangers to be run were great, the success doubtful. To a man whose wife was on the point of obtaining his liberty it was hard that he should be

engaged in such a venture, where he could gain nothing, while he ran a great risk of being shot, drowned, or hanged. But what did it matter, he had suffered so much that he resigned himself to his fate with the tranquil energy which was the basis of his character, and waited the result.

The waiting was not long. On May 15th several favourable circumstances combined to decide the conspirators that the time had come to put their scheme into operation. A strong S.W. wind, which lasted some days, forced the English and Spanish squadrons to approach Cadiz, leaving the surveillance of the hulks to some gunboats. The removal of the large ships left the route free, and would allow the *Vieille Castille* to avail herself of the wind and sea, which would drive her to the French bank. The afternoon was spent in making such preparations as they could without being discovered by the sentinels. At eight o'clock at night the wind was still from the S.W., but it had fallen considerably ; notwithstanding this unfavourable circumstance the signal was given by the leaders, who commenced to cut the cables. The news, now known, caused confusion amongst the prisoners. If some courageously looked forward with joy to the success of the plot, others moved by their fears were terrified at the risks they ran. But the die was cast, and having only their choice between liberty and an ignominious death, they all put their hands to the work. In the twinkling of an eye the soldiers forming the guard were surrounded, disarmed, and put in the hold ; two sentinels on the deck were similarly treated, not having time to give the alarm by firing their guns. While they were cutting the cables the helm was loosened ; the ports were closed to prevent boarding, and on deck were placed, not only the fifteen muskets of the guard with their ammunition, but all

the cannon balls, and the pieces of iron forming the ballast, which they could use as projectiles. These preparations completed, the hulk was set adrift, and under the impulse of the wind, which rose a little, she soon left behind the store-ship and the gunboat guard-ship. If these two vessels had given chase the hulk could not have escaped. Fortunately they did not move. One English ship alone sent three armed cutters in chase. One of them approached firing, the officer commanding called out with all his might, "Frenchmen! surrender, no harm shall be done to you;" but they were not disposed to surrender. When the cutter came alongside she was overwhelmed with projectiles. The hulk, losing her ballast, rose till she was more than twenty-five feet out of the water, and pieces of metal weighing 50 lbs. fell from this height with terrible force. A considerable number of broken heads, legs, and arms on the cutter caused her to sheer off and abandon her work. Unfortunately her fire had been very fatal, amongst the number killed being Lieutenant Moreau, who had assumed the command. His place on the quarter-deck was taken by our old friend Dauriac.

Hardly had this danger been surmounted than they were confronted by a greater one. The wind fell, leaving the hulk at the mercy of the current, which was taking it towards the fort of Puntales on the Spanish coast. To combat this new peril the sailors made with the hammocks and coverings a sail to enable them to profit by the slightest breath of wind, but the breeze, already so light, fell still more. Occasionally it ceased entirely, and then rose again with more or less force. For two long hours the fugitives were fluctuating between hope and fear.

The hulk floated quietly on the calm waters, at times carried towards safety by the wind, then drifted by the

current towards the peninsula, where prison and death awaited those who landed. At last, at eleven o'clock at night, a slight breeze stranded the *Vielle Castille* eight hundred yards from land, not far from the battery which had been erected by the French. The fugitives passed the rest of the night making a raft. At half-past five, day, for which they waited with feverish impatience, began to break. It brought them a bitter disappointment. They had calculated that the ship, having no ballast, would ground in such a position that they would be able to wade to shore. Instead of that, they found themselves stranded with five and a half feet of rolling sea around them. The raft which they expected would be able to go back and forward and land them all, when attached by ropes which the swimmers would fix on land, broke up at the first attempt. This accident threw into despair those who could not swim, which was the case with about one-half the prisoners. The position was truly frightful. The Spaniards at dawn opened a terrible fire upon the unfortunate ship—the fort of Puntales, the batteries of the city, a score of gunboats poured upon them bullets, bombs, and shells. Under this rain of projectiles many of the fugitives lost their heads, and those who could swim did not hesitate to jump overboard. Of the others the boldest or the most frightened threw themselves into the water, some with empty tubs, others with simple planks, and let themselves drift. All were not so fortunate as to be saved. Some drifted away and were drowned, or captured by the Spaniards. Sassenay could not swim; fortunately he had devoted friends in the hulk who undertook to help him, and throwing himself into the sea he was assisted by them and succeeded in gaining the shore safe and sound, the only thing out of his meagre baggage that he saved being the portrait of his wife, which he tied on his head.

The operation of saving the prisoners was not finished till noon. For several hours more than 2,000 soldiers of all ranks, generals, officers, and rank and file waded in the water, exposed to the fire of 150 cannons, to save their compatriots. Small boats were hastily brought in carts across the land and were used to bring to shore the women and children, and those who could not swim and dared not throw themselves into the water. Three times during these operations was the ship set on fire, and as many times were the flames extinguished by those on board. When all had escaped a final bomb destroyed the vessel which had been the scene of such cruel sufferings. This bold escape which, thanks to the bad aim of the Spanish artillery, cost but few lives, restored to France six hundred officers and nine hundred soldiers.

Sassenay received the warmest welcome from the chiefs of the French army, who also found him the money necessary to go to Seville, where Marshal Soult had his head-quarters.

From this city he wrote a formal report of his mission, of which the last phrases show the weakness which resulted from so many and severe trials. In this report he asked the minister to forward to his wife a letter which he enclosed, and to obtain permission for her to return from England, where he heard she was.

It was not an easy matter at that time to travel through Spain, and to avoid falling into the hands of the Guerilla troops it was necessary to wait for convoys; it was consequently two months before Sassenay arrived at Bayonne, which he reached on July 21st. He found there a very civil letter from Champagny, who told him what efforts the government had made in his behalf, and that they were giving him his salary yet.

The minister had received his letter at the end of June.

At that time negotiations were on foot between the two governments for an exchange of prisoners of war, and through the commission appointed for the purpose the letter written by the Marquis to his wife was sent on to England, and her return was rendered easy; but it was the end of July or the beginning of August before she arrived in France, and when she arrived at Sassenay, she found her husband already there. She was horror-struck at the change in his appearance. Two years had done for him the work of half a century—the young man had become an old one. So changed was he that on his first arrival at the chateau his servants did not know him, and taking him for an impostor had refused him admission.

Against trials such as he had endured, and which had left such severe traces that his health, if not destroyed, had been seriously injured, he could have only the satisfaction of having been selected against his will by the Emperor to undertake in a foreign country a delicate and perilous mission.

After his return Sassenay was able to enjoy a well earned repose. Though he had not sought adventures, he had for eighteen years been incessantly engaged in them. By turns a soldier of fortune, a merchant by necessity, a diplomatist against his will, and a prisoner under exceptionally cruel circumstances, he only emerged from one trial to fall into another still worse than the last. So, once returned to his home, he determined to remain there, and, living in peace with his family, to endeavour to restore his fortunes, deranged by his long absence.

The government by no means showed itself grateful to Sassenay for all he had undergone on its behalf, and it was only through the intercession of the Duc de Bassano, who remained his friend, that his salary was continued for a few months after his return. This neglect is not to be

wondered at ; Napoleon, like all favourites of fortune, only liked successful men, and the Marquis had not been successful in his mission ; not only had it miscarried, but it had occasioned a separatist and republican movement which resulted in the loss to Spain (which Napoleon still hoped to conquer) of one of its most important and valuable colonies. This check was unpleasant, and Napoleon avoided any reference to it by forgetting Sassenay and all connected with him.

Sassenay's pecuniary position was not improved till the restoration. Like other emigrants he had his share of the indemnity then granted by the Chambers, and though this by no means restored the fortune which he had lost by the revolution, it enabled him to close his life free from present pecuniary cares or anxieties for the future of his children.

Little as a political life was to his taste, he was compelled once more to take an active part in it under the restoration. Polignac's ministry, anxious for the defeat of one of the chief Liberals, General Thiard, urged Sassenay to oppose him with all the great influence which he enjoyed in his department. Beaten by his redoubtable competitor in Chalon on the 23rd of June, 1830, he was elected at Macon on July 3rd. His seat in the Chamber was, however, of short duration. A month after his election the throne of Charles X was overturned by a popular insurrection. After acknowledging the younger branch of the Bourbons, in spite of his sincere attachment to the older branch, as better than a republic, the Marquis retired from a public career, and spent the remainder of his life in private.

Bitter griefs overshadowed his closing years. He lost, within a few years' interval, his daughter, to whom he was devoted, and the energetic wife who had been his chief

support during his times of trial. These blows were terrible to the old man, but he supported them with courageous resignation; withdrawing from all publicity, he lived only for his children and a few old friends, residing at his dear home at Sassenay, where he was loved and respected by all. On the 8th of November, 1840, when nearly eighty years old, death claimed him in his turn. He died peacefully and without pain, regretted by all who knew him, and leaving behind him the memory of a good man.

LIVERPOOL:
D. MARPLES AND CO., PRINTERS
LORD STREET.

3 6105 124 460 390

3 6105 124 460 390

[illegible]

